THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR

Vol. 4 *Spring* 1935 *No.* 2

DARE THE TEACHER BREATHE?
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A STERN'ST GOODNIGHT TO SHAKSPERE?
William T. Hastings

RELIGIOUS CRISIS IN RURAL AMERICA
Harold E. Fey

PLAYHOUSE ROOTS OF OUR DRAMA
Walter Prichard Eaton

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The American Scholar

PHI BETA KAPPA, the college honor society founded in 1776, precursor of all the Greek-letter societies in America, publishes THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR not only for members of ΦBK but for all who have general intellectual interests.

❖ ❖ ❖

"I AM a sensitive creature surrounded by a universe utterly out of scale with myself: I must, therefore, address it questioningly but trustfully, and it must reply to me in my own terms, in symbols and parables, that only gradually enlarge my childish perceptions. It is as if Substance said to Knowledge: My child, there is a great world for thee to conquer, but it is a vast, an ancient, and a recalcitrant world. It yields wonderful treasures to courage, when courage is guided by art and respects the limits set to it by nature. I should not have been so cruel as to give thee birth, if there had been nothing for thee to master; but having first prepared the field, I set in thy heart the love of adventure."

Scepticism and Animal Faith — George Santayana

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Received doctorate at Göttingen University; agricultural chemist and former Chief of the U. S. Bureau of Chemistry; has published and edited numerous books, bulletins, and articles on chemistry, agriculture, and the history of science; is now President of the History of Science Society. Φ B K Williams 1892. Address: 3408 Lowell St., Washington, D. C.

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Now giving the Yale Theatre courses in playwriting formerly given by George Pierce Baker; author of various books on the drama and other subjects, and of many articles, including "The Drama in 1933" (AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Winter 1934). Address: Yale Theatre, New Haven, Conn.

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Student of philosophy under Friedrich Paulsen; for years engaged in researches for a History of English Philosophy in the 18th century, originally planned to be written in conjunction with Paulsen; some preliminary results published by him were discussed before the Prussian Academy of Sciences in 1918; came to U. S. A. in 1915. Address: 42 West 96th St., N. Y. C.

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Son of a Nebraska farmer; while in the Philippines he worked out the first courses in rural sociology given in the Islands and presented them himself at the University of the Philippines and in Union Theological Seminary (P. I.); Editor, 1932–35, of the *World Call*, and actively in touch with projects dealing with the rural church in his own denomination. Address: 2929 Broadway, N. Y. C.

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Teaches American Literature in his capacity as Assistant Professor of English, Wesleyan University; had taught previously at the University of Illinois and the University of Minnesota; author of various articles and reviews. Address: Middletown, Conn.

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Sometime member of the Division of Research of the Federal Reserve Board, and of the Foreign Information Division of the Federal Reserve Board of New York. Φ B K Hamilton 1912. Address: Case, Pomeroy, and Company, 120 Wall St., N. Y. C.

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Professor of education, University of North Dakota; has been interested in the law of public education for many years, particularly that phase dealing with the status of public school teachers; author of *The Legal Authority of the American Public School*. Address: University Station, Grand Forks, N. D.

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Associate Professor of English, Brown University; Contributing Editor, Shakespeare Association *Bulletin*; author of *Syllabus of American Literature*; editor of several anthologies. Φ B K Brown 1903. Address: Brown University, Providence, R. I.

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THE MASTER MASTERPIECE

Let the imagination perceive a canvas far larger than any to which brush has actually been put. Imagine it so large that the master artist must employ a number of minor artists as assistants. The master painter with bold strokes reveals the sweep of his conception—the expanding sky, the landscape with broad cities, the ocean. The assistant artists are at work on details—here on a cloud effect and a plane, there on a house roof as a garden, here on the enlightened features of a citizen, there on a white sail skimming the waves.

Will this canvas be a masterpiece? What is needed to make it a masterpiece? Well, certainly each minor artist must somehow catch the vision of the total picture as it has taken form in the mind of the master artist and do his painting in perfect harmony with the master and with his fellows. Each bit of painting must somehow make an essential contribution to the whole at the same time that it derives its meaning from the whole.

This cosmic canvas is history, civilization, culture. The master artist is the creative potency in the universe—name it as you will. You and I are the minor artists, potential masters of detail.

If the painting is to become a masterpiece you and I must catch the vision of the whole as it exists in the mind of the master artist—that vision it is the purpose of a continuing liberal education to clarify—an understanding of the universe and an appreciation of human values. History, literature, the sciences, all experience contribute essential elements to this philosophical world view.

A threat of tragedy lurks in the fact that each of us has a pot of paint and we must put the pigment on the canvas whether we wish or not. The question is—what will our part look like when we have finished? Will it be a blot, ugly from shortsightedness and disharmony, which others must spend their lives to paint out, or will it be a brush-stroke essential to the beauty of the masterpiece?

W. A. S.

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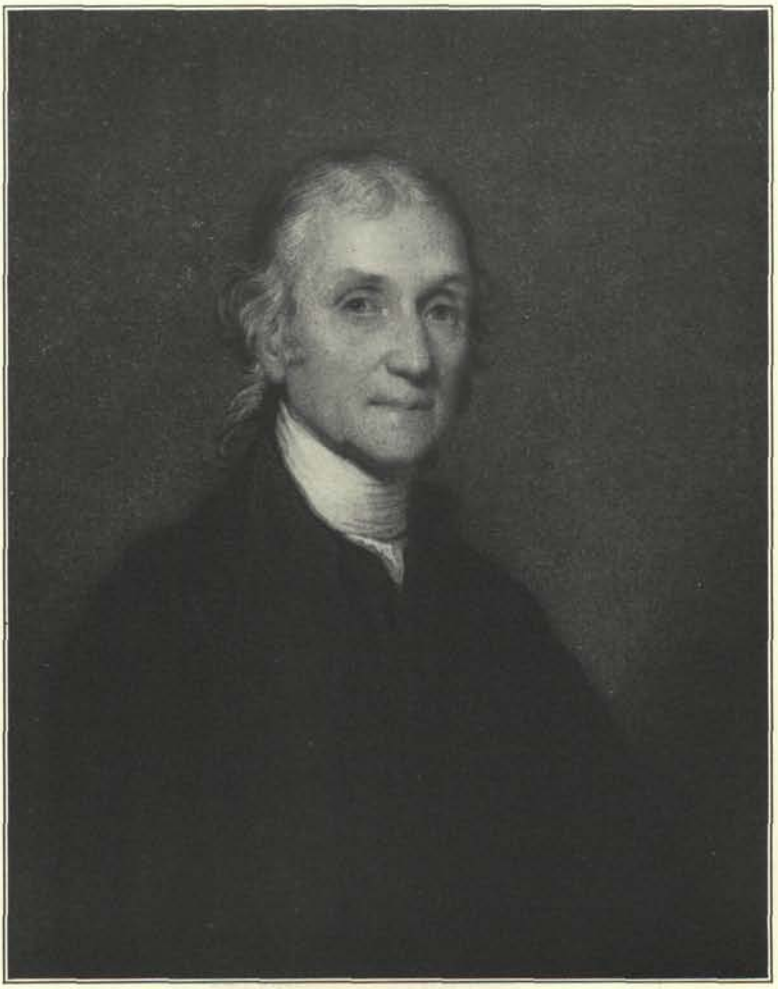

Courtesy of Robert Friedenberg Galleries *Engraved by W. Holl*

PRIESTLEY

From a Picture by Gilbert Stewart

in the possession of T. B. Barclay Esq. of Liverpool

UNDER THE SUPERINTENDANCE OF THE SOCIETY FOR THE DIFFUSION OF USEFUL KNOWLEDGE

LONDON. Published by Charles Knight, Ludgate Street & Pall Mall East

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Joseph Priestley and the American "Fathers"

CHARLES ALBERT BROWNE
Bureau of Chemistry and Soils, U. S. Department of Agriculture

IN the long list of the world's famous men there is a surprisingly large number who although not chemists by profession have yet given a considerable amount of attention to the pursuit of chemistry. These men might be classified as "occasional chemists." A catalog of their names is a noteworthy one: Sir Walter Raleigh the colonizer, John Locke the philosopher, Emanuel Swedenborg the mystic, Dr. Samuel Johnson the lexicographer, Ralph Waldo Emerson the essayist, Francis Parkman the historian, and many other eminent men who might be named were diverted at one period or another of their lives by the charm of chemistry. The greatest of these occasional chemists was a Unitarian minister, Dr. Joseph Priestley, the bicentennial of whose birth on March 24, 1733 was celebrated both in America and England.

That rigid conservative, Dr. Samuel Johnson, once knit his brows, according to his biographer Boswell, and sternly asked, "Why do we hear so much of Dr. Priestley?" We might ask the same question today, for if we search our libraries we shall find more biographies, more addresses, more essays, more polemics, more prints, more libels, and more cartoons about Priestley than about any other English or American chemist. Priestley's discoveries of oxygen, ammonia, hydrochloric acid, hydrogen sulfide, nitrous oxide, nitric oxide, sulfur dioxide, and silicon fluoride certainly insure him a place for all time among the world's great chemists, but his work in the field of chemistry has been overshadowed by that of other men who are far less generally known. Indeed, according to the judgment of some critics, Priestley, by his influence in supporting the outworn doctrine of phlogiston and in opposing the new chemistry of Lavoisier, set

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the hands of chemistry backward instead of forward. How then are we to explain the predominating hold which Priestley continues to exercise, beyond that of any other chemist, upon the minds of the English-speaking world?

The answer is of course the obvious one that Priestley was much more than a chemist. Judged by the titles of his 150 books and pamphlets, Priestley's interests were devoted about 50 per cent to theology, 20 per cent to chemistry, and the remaining 30 per cent to politics, education, philosophy, history, economics, and general science. Chemistry, therefore, was only a major avocation with Priestley and the perennial interest which keeps his fame alive is due to the fact that his career appeals not only to chemists but to men in nearly every other walk of life. We must also remember that he suffered unmerited persecutions both in his native land and in the country of his adoption. Not only martyrs of religion but those also of liberty and science arouse the greatest popular sympathy and attention.

Joseph Priestley was perhaps better known to his American contemporaries than any other Englishman of the 18th century. From his 28th year in 1761 until his death at Northumberland, Pennsylvania, in 1804 no other European enjoyed so close a companionship with prominent Americans in all walks of life. Among his friends were a large number of the prominent leaders of the American Revolution and it is to some of his relations with these men that the present paper is devoted.

The first of these intimate relations with Americans was the famous friendship of Priestley with Benjamin Franklin which began in 1761 while Priestley was a schoolmaster at Warrington and Franklin was engaged at London in trying to procure some redress for the grievances of the American colonies. It was during the early period of their friendship that Franklin encouraged Priestley to write his first scientific work upon "The History and Present State of Electricity." Priestley's biographer, T. E. Thorpe, has stated, "It may be truthfully said that Franklin made Priestley into a man of science." Franklin also exercised a great influence upon Priestley's work as a political writer and in

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1767, during the height of the agitation against America, he encouraged Priestley to publish his "Address to Protestant Dissenters of all denominations on the approaching election of Members of Parliament with respect to the state of public liberty in general and of American affairs in particular." During the whole of Franklin's residence in England Priestley was a firm supporter of his policies. He was present at the famous Privy Council outrage when Franklin as delegate of the colonies was grossly insulted by Wedderburn, the solicitor-general of the Crown. Priestley, who has left a vivid account of the incident, was so much offended with Wedderburn that when the latter advanced to greet him he turned his back and left the room.

The parting of the two friends upon the eve of Franklin's return to America was a touching one. Priestley has given a full account of his last day with Franklin in London in a letter from Northumberland in 1802. He wrote:

> It is probable that no person now living was better acquainted with Dr. Franklin and his sentiments on all subjects of importance, than myself, for several years before the American war. I think I knew him as well as one man can generally know another. At that time I spent the winters in London, in the family of the Marquis of Lansdowne, and few days passed without my seeing more or less of Dr. Franklin; and the last day that he passed in England, having given out that he should depart the day before, we spent together, without any interruption, from morning until night. . . .
>
> A great part of the day above-mentioned that we spent together, he was looking over a number of American newspapers, directing me what to extract from them for the English ones; and, in reading them, he was frequently not able to proceed for the tears literally running down his cheeks.

Priestley and Franklin had many traits in common. Both men had the same love for science, the same versatility in their range of intellectual pursuits, and the same liberality of opinions in politics and religion. The two friends never saw each other again after this last meeting in London although there was an exchange of letters and messages. Franklin's famous estimate of

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Priestley, quoted so many times, is worth repeating. In a letter to one of Priestley's Warrington pupils, written in October 1788, Franklin expressed himself as follows:

> Remember me affectionately to the good Dr. Price and to the honest heretic, Dr. Priestley. I do not call him honest by way of distinction, for I think all the heretics I have known have been virtuous men. They have the virtue of fortitude, or they would not venture to own their heresy; and they cannot afford to be deficient in any of the other virtues, as that would give advantage to their many enemies; and they have not, like orthodox sinners, such a number of friends to excuse or justify them. Do not, however, mistake me. It is not to my good friend's heresy that I impute his honesty. On the contrary 'tis his honesty that has brought upon him the character of heretic.

Priestley's friendly, outspoken attachment to the American cause not only made him very unpopular in England but caused his name to become a household word in all the English colonies. His pamphlet upon American affairs had a wide circulation and reprints of it were published in both Philadelphia and Boston, making him known in this country long before he landed upon our shores.

The accounts of Priestley's persecutions in England, because of his liberal views in politics and religion, of the destruction of his house, church, and laboratory at Birmingham in the riots of 1791, and of his subsequent emigration to the United States in 1794 are too well known to be retold in the present paper. We shall, therefore, pass on to the consideration of Priestley's relations with some of the prominent leaders of the Revolution whom he met in the new country where he was to spend the remainder of his days.

The first of the leading founders of the new Republic to greet Priestley upon his arrival in America was the Governor of New York, General George Clinton, a zealous champion of the cause of the Colonists before the Revolution, a member of the Second Continental Congress, a brigadier general of the Continental Army, and for 21 years Governor of the State of New York. After a fortnight's rest and visit in New York Priestley jour-

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neyed to Philadelphia where he was accorded another series of ovations. His old friend Franklin was no longer living but the American Philosophical Society, which Franklin founded in 1727, extended to him a most cordial welcome. Its President, David Rittenhouse, the famous astronomer, a member of the Board of War and of the Council of Safety during the Revolution and the first Director of the United States Mint, delivered the address of greeting.

After his reception in Philadelphia, Priestley moved on with his wife and sons to Northumberland where he built a beautiful home still standing at the confluence of the north and east branches of the Susquehanna River, and there, except for occasional trips to Philadelphia, he spent the remainder of his days in peaceful retirement. As inducements to settle in Philadelphia Priestley had been offered the professorship of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania and the ministry of a Unitarian society but these opportunities for service in science and religion he felt obliged to decline. To Northumberland he moved his extensive library of 4000 volumes and his splendid collection of chemical and philosophical apparatus, the largest private collection at that time existing in the United States. By establishing his home and laboratory at Northumberland, then upon the border of the wilderness, Joseph Priestley moved the intellectual and scientific frontiers of the United States westward 100 miles.

Priestley's contacts with famous Americans were nearly all formed during his occasional visits to Philadelphia, the national capital from 1790 to 1800. Here he made the acquaintance of Washington, Adams, and Jefferson, the first three Presidents of the Republic; here he met members of Congress and other notables, many of whom attended services at which he preached; here he took part in the famous conversation parties of Dr. Wistar; and here he attended numerous meetings of the American Philosophical Society before which he presented papers upon the results of the chemical experiments performed in his Northumberland laboratory.

The man in Philadelphia whom he saw most frequently and

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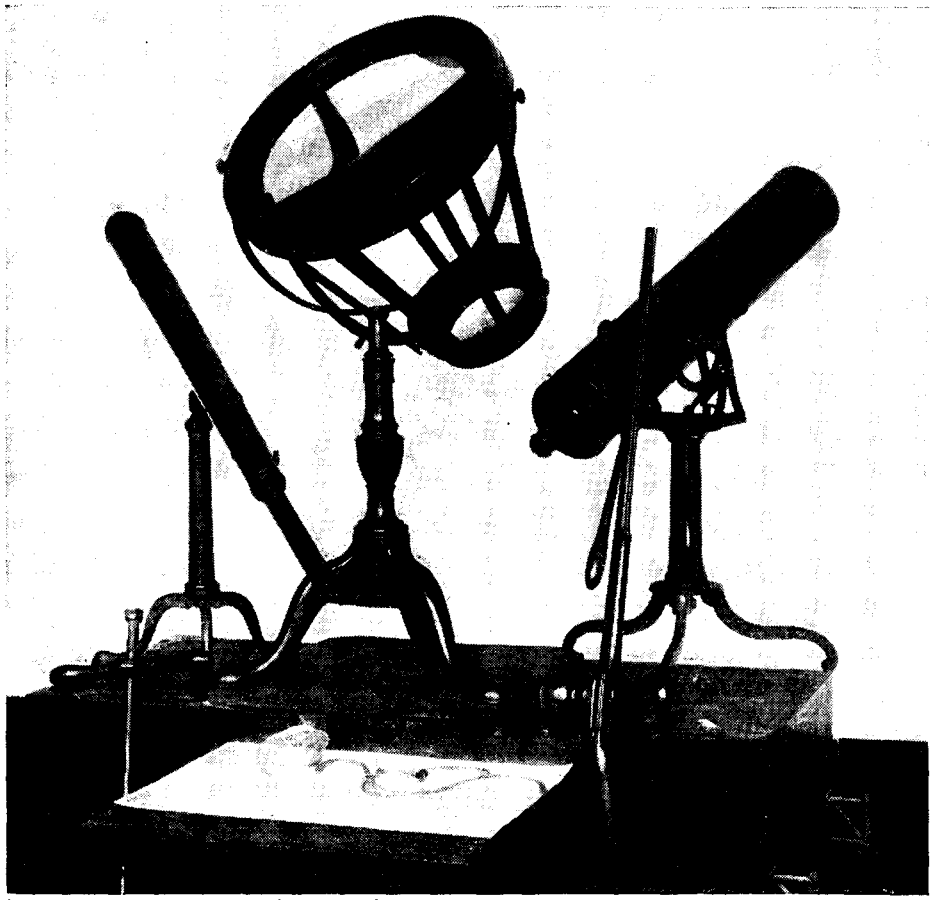
whom he came to know most intimately was Dr. Benjamin Rush, a member of the First Continental Congress, a signer of the Declaration of Independence, and a member of the Pennsylvania Convention which adopted the Constitution in 1787. Rush was a Professor of Chemistry and later a Professor of the Theory and Practice of Medicine at the University of Penn-



Courtesy of the Dickinson College Chapter of Phi Beta Kappa

Some of Priestley's Apparatus

sylvania. It was largely through his influence that Priestley received the offer of the professorship of chemistry at the University of Pennsylvania, previously referred to, and it was prob-

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ably again through his recommendation that Priestley was approached by the trustees of the University in 1803 with regard to his accepting the office of Provost which had been made vacant by the death of Dr. Ewing. Governor McKean of Pennsylvania was especially desirous that he should accept this office but the weight of years and his declining health made it necessary for Priestley to refuse this honor also. A friendly correspondence upon scientific and other subjects ensued between Rush and Priestley, a strong community of intellectual interests bringing the two men closely together. Rush also attended Priestley during several illnesses in Philadelphia and perhaps during one of these professional visits he may have expounded to Priestley his ideas upon the treatment of yellow fever, of which there were no less than seven epidemics in Philadelphia between the years 1793 and 1805. Rush took a courageous part in fighting all of these outbreaks. His treatment of patients consisted in copious bloodletting and in administering calomel and jalap in doses of ten grains each. This heroic remedy, derisively called "ten and ten" by Rush's medical opponents, was nevertheless credited with a considerable number of cures. The subject of epidemics and pestilential diseases was very widely discussed during this period and Priestley, who was ready to debate upon any question under the sun, published a few remarks of his own upon the topic in the New York *Medical Repository* for 1801.

Priestley met President Washington on several occasions during his Philadelphia visits but his intercourse with this great patriot was purely of a formal character.

Shortly after the commencement of the administration of John Adams, Priestley's friend and fellow exile, Thomas Cooper, became attached to the anti-Federalist party of Jefferson as a propagandist, and, being a forcible writer, he began to launch a series of bitter attacks against the policies of President Adams. These displays of hostility by Cooper and other foreign partisans caused the Federal Administration to pass the famous Alien and Sedition Laws which authorized the punishment and deportation of dangerous aliens who had written, printed, uttered, or

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published anything defamatory of the President or Congress. These Alien and Sedition Acts, which had the approval of Washington, Patrick Henry, and other patriots of the old Federal party, seemed so tyrannical to Jefferson and others who upheld the doctrine of complete freedom of speech and press that storms of bitter criticism were aroused. The excitement reached fever heat with the arrest of Cooper, who was confined as an undesirable alien. Dr. Charles Caldwell (whose now almost forgotten *Autobiography* gives vivid personal impressions of Rush, Barton, Wistar and other noted men of the period) in commenting upon the relations of Priestley with Cooper[1] remarks:

> It is hardly less than extraordinary that a friendship so strong and fervent as theirs was, should have existed between him (*i. e.* Priestley) and Dr. Cooper. For it would be difficult to find two men more dissimilar to each other. The only mutual similarity that marked them was, that each of them possessed talents of an exalted order, and information of great variety and extent. But the character of their intellects, their temperaments, and tempers, and their modes of using their information, were strikingly unlike. In their scrutinies and discussion of subjects, Cooper's intellect was the most keen, penetrating, and searching; Priestley's the most diffusive, expanded, and liberal. Priestley possessed the greatest amount of knowledge; Cooper made the most powerful use of what he did possess. In discussion and debate, Priestley was calm, placid, and candid; Cooper, vehement, fiery, and sometimes inclined to confuse, perplex, and entrap his antagonist. The spirit and manner of the latter resembled those of the advocate resolved, by any admissible means, to succeed in his cause; those of the former the spirit and manner of the judge, summing up the evidence and delivering his charge.

Priestley, as Cooper's intimate friend and an alien with a previous record in England as a political writer, naturally fell also under the suspicion of President Adams, who sent him a warning, through his Secretary of State Timothy Pickering, to "ab-

[1] Thomas Cooper was one of the great public characters of his period and interesting side lights upon his numerous activities are contained in the works of Presidents Adams, Jefferson, and Van Buren. After the death of Priestley, with whom he lived at Northumberland, he held professorships of chemistry at Dickinson College and the University of Pennsylvania. Later he was elected president of the College of South Carolina where, running true to form, he became an extreme advocate of the doctrines of States' Rights and Nullification. For further particulars the reader is referred to Mr. Dumas Malone's scholarly work, *The Public Life of Thomas Cooper*, Yale University Press, New Haven, 1926.

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stain from saying anything on politics lest he should get into difficulty." Adams was a great admirer of Priestley in many ways and knowing as he did the controversial habits of the old doctor his warning was no doubt intended purely as a friendly act. But Priestley, whose pride was hurt, took the admonition unkindly. Unfortunately he was already in difficulties, the publication of several intercepted letters which had been sent to him by certain over-zealous English and French correspondents having created a wide impression that he was actively laboring to disunite the American people from their government. This feeling against Priestley was further aggravated by the vicious attacks he continually suffered from the celebrated William Cobbett, a scurrilous English pamphleteer then living in Philadelphia who wrote under the pseudonym of Peter Porcupine.

Priestley was never naturalized as an American citizen. Notwithstanding the persecutions which he suffered in his home country he preferred to live and die an Englishman, and this attitude was also the cause of unfavorable comment. As an extreme liberal he was naturally very sympathetic with the ultra-democratic views of Jefferson although (more careful than his friend Cooper) he refrained from publishing any criticisms against the Adams administration. In order to correct the false opinions that had been formed about his activities he published in 1801 his famous *Letters to the Inhabitants of Northumberland*, the moderate and conciliatory tone of which did much towards removing the bad impressions which many of his American contemporaries had formed, although it did cause Noah Webster to drop work upon his dictionary and to publish a rejoinder. Priestley, it can truthfully be said, did not meddle overtly in American politics, but his private statements, expressed it may be smilingly and innocently, in behalf of the principles of his friend Jefferson carried weight. There is probably, therefore, some truth in the remark of Dr. John Andrews, Vice-Provost of the University of Pennsylvania (a staunch Federalist, yet a good friend of Priestley), that Priestley had done the Federalists more mischief than any other man.

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It was with Thomas Jefferson, our third president, that Priestley formed his most agreeable contacts among the leaders of the American Revolution. Jefferson and his party had utilized the mistakes of the Adams administration to the fullest advantage in stirring up popular antagonism against the Federalists and they were successful in winning by a close margin the bitter election of 1800 which sent John Adams into retirement and elevated Jefferson to the presidency. This event was particularly pleasing to Priestley, for a strong bond of common interests had already been established between him and Jefferson as fellow members of the Philosophical Society. The two men shared the same love for scientific studies and the same liberality of opinion in matters pertaining to politics, education, and religion. Priestley sent Jefferson copies of his various publications and the two friends exchanged numerous letters, many of which are now preserved in the Library of Congress.

Jefferson at this time was busily engaged in formulating plans for his new University of Virginia and had expressed a desire that Priestley might accept a position upon its faculty but the great liberal could not be enticed to leave his Northumberland home. "Were I a few years younger, and more movable," he wrote Jefferson, "I should make interest for some appointment in your institution myself; but age and inactivity are fast approaching and I am so fixed here, that a remove is absolutely impossible, unless you were possessed of Aláddin's lamp, and could transport my house, library, and laboratory into Virginia without trouble or expense." Although declining the appointment Priestley nevertheless took a deep interest in Jefferson's proposed university and at the latter's request submitted an outline of his views upon educational matters. These "Hints concerning Public Education" constitute a remarkable document which deserves to be placed as a marker in the history of American education. The reader who now turns the faded pages of this neatly written manuscript in the Library of Congress and reads the outline of Priestley's curriculum of studies, in which the cultural and the practical, the literary and the scientific, are all

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evenly balanced has a feeling that here perhaps is a bit of the original leaven which, through Jefferson's influence, permeated the whole system of our 19th century higher education.

Jefferson in his letters speaks frequently of the injustice of the persecutions which Priestley suffered both in England and in America. In a letter dated June 18, 1800 he wrote to Priestley: "How deeply have I been chagrined and mortified at the persecutions which fanaticism and monarchy have excited against you, even here." In reply to his friend's expressions of regret Priestley had this to say in a letter written to Jefferson a month after his inauguration:

> Your resentment of the treatment I have met with in this country is truly generous, but I must have been but little impressed with the principles of the religion you so justly commend, if they had not enabled me to bear much more than I have yet suffered. Do not suppose that, after the much worse treatment to which I was for many years exposed in England . . . I was much affected by this. My *Letters to the Inhabitants of Northumberland* were not occasioned by any such thing, tho it served me as a pretense for writing them, but (by) the threatenings of Mr. Pickering, whose purpose to send me out of the country Mr. Adams (as I conclude from a circuitous attempt that he made to prevent it) would not, in the circumstances in which he then was, have been able to directly oppose. My publication was of service to me in that and other respects and I hope, in some measure, to the common cause. But had it not been for the extreme absurdity and violence of the late administration, I do not know how far the measures might not have been carried. I rejoice more than I can express in the glorious reverse that has taken place, and which has secured your election. This I flatter myself will be the permanent establishment of truly republican principles in this country, and also contribute to the same desirable event in more distant ones.

One of the most pleasant incidents in our whole national history is the reconciliation that took place between John Adams and Thomas Jefferson after these former political rivals, wearied with the intrigues and turmoils of party strife, had retired to the peaceful seclusion of their respective homes. In the correspondence that was resumed between these old friends fre-

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quent mention was made of their departed acquaintance, Dr. Priestley. Adams was always an admirer of Priestley although the force of circumstances obliged him as President to hold the great liberal in check. In one of his letters to Jefferson, Adams

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writes of Priestley, "This great, excellent and extraordinary man whom I sincerely loved, esteemed and respected, was really a phenomenon; a comet in the system like Voltaire, Bolingsbroke and Hume." In another letter Adams exclaims, "Oh! that Priestley could live again and have leisure and means!" Still later there follows a long letter filled with references to Priest-

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ley. "The fundamental principle of all philosophy and all Christianity," Adams writes, "is, 'Rejoice always in all things!' . . . Will it not follow that I ought to rejoice and be thankful that Priestley has lived?" In a later communication, referring Jefferson to a letter which Priestley wrote on January 16, 1804, Adams made the following remarkable statement in his characteristic exuberant style:

> This was possibly, and not improbably, the last letter this great, this learned, indefatigable, most excellent and extraordinary man ever wrote, for on the 4th of February, 1804, he was released from his labors and sufferings. Peace, rest, joy and glory to his soul! For I believe he had one and one of the greatest.

Priestley was indeed a phenomenon not only to John Adams but to everyone who came within the circle of his influence. His serenity under the most trying situations, his gentleness, his candor, his vivacity, his versatility, his industry, his conversational powers, his eagerness for debate, his tolerance—these and other characteristics were the wonder and admiration of all who knew him. The traits which we have named are the explanation of the immense range of Priestley's friendship which comprised, in both England and America, men of the most varied political and religious beliefs. The noted hymn-writer, Toplady, although of opposite religious convictions, said this of Priestley, "I love a man whom I can hold up like a piece of crystal and look through." Priestley's liberality, the cardinal principle of his religion and philosophy, was the direct result of his friendly associations with men of widely differing opinions, as he himself once recognized in the following characteristic passage:

> If liberality of sentiment be the result of general and various acquaintance, few men now living have had a better opportunity of acquiring it than myself. This has arisen from the great variety of my pursuits, which has naturally brought me acquainted with persons of all principles and characters. One day, I remember, I dined in company with an eminent popish priest; the evening I spent with philosophers, determined unbelievers; the next morning I breakfasted, at his own request,

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with a most zealously orthodox clergyman, Mr. Toplady, and the rest of the day I spent with Dr. Jebb, Mr. Lindsey and some others, men in all respects after my own heart. I have since enriched my acquaintance with that of some very intelligent Jews; and my opponents, who consider me already as half a Mahometan, will not suppose that I can have any objection to the society of persons of that religion.

The most graphic record of Priestley's personality that has been left by any of his American acquaintances is that handed down by Dr. Charles Caldwell, who in his *Autobiography* has thus portrayed his character and manners:

His temperament was nervo-sanguineous, with a moderate but evident mixture of the phlegmatic. And his organ of benevolence was strongly developed. To that development and mixture were attributable the mildness and placidity of his temper, which was rarely if ever very seriously ruffled. To that again were to be attributed the calmness and courtesy of his manner and language in all his controversial engagements (and they were numerous) in which, whether they were conducted *viva voce* or through the press, he never employed an expression that was really exceptionable, and much less offensive, in either word or sentiment. Hence, though nearly all his controversies were on matters of religion, he never engendered in fair and liberal minded antagonists resentment or dislike.

So rich was the doctor in valuable colloquial matter, and so bounteously and dexterously did he impart it, that I never passed half an hour in conversation with him that did not add something to my stock of useful knowledge—some interesting fact.

Added to his other amiable and attractive attributes, Dr. Priestley was one of the most single-minded and modest men I have ever known. For the vast store of knowledge he possessed, he took to himself no credit, except on the score of labor and industry. . . .

Notwithstanding the charges of damning theological heresies, that were piled mountain-high against Dr. Priestley, I witnessed in him, on a certain occasion, manifestations of mind and feeling, which, in my own opinion, and in that of others whose Christian orthodoxy was never questioned, utterly nullified and scattered them to the wind. I attended him, in consultation with Dr. Rush, in a severe and very threatening fit of sickness, when I greatly feared, and he himself confidently believed, that he was on his death-bed. And never did I behold any individual, in a like case, more calm and submissive than he was, under present suffer-

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ing, or more firm and confiding, peacefully resigned and cheerfully hopeful in relation to his condition in a future state.

This unique picture of Priestley, by one who knew him well, helps us perhaps to give a partial answer to the question of old Dr. Johnson that was propounded at the beginning of this paper. "Why do we hear so much of Dr. Priestley?" And in closing may we not repeat the valedictory to Priestley by that other valiant character—the old Federalist, John Adams. "Peace, rest, joy and glory to his soul!"

The Task

MELVILLE CANE

HOW to cope
With the flight of hope;

Under despair
How to endure;

(Endure! endure!)

And be more than a leaf
On the gale of grief;

And perceive, as only a fraction,
The pain and distraction;

How, in the perilous instant,
To preserve, how dimly, the constant;

How dimly,
The way, the meaning and the mystery;

How, in the clutch of extinction,
Still to function, human;—

This is the prayer, the task,—that I may save
The suffering god within, that he may live,
And greatly live, beyond the grave.

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Dramatic Evolution and the Popular Theatre

Playhouse Roots of Our Drama

WALTER PRICHARD EATON
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IN the older and more orthodox study of the drama all periods which were barren of published plays of literary merit were looked upon with contempt and considered of small importance in dramatic history. I have in mind a long-time standard text-book on 18th century English drama which declares *The Rivals*, *She Stoops to Conquer*, and *The School for Scandal* the climax of the century and ends with them the story. As a matter of fact they were side issues, or throw backs. Something quite different was struggling to be born, as Allardyce Nicoll knew when he placed so much emphasis on Lillo. It must be searched for in the programs of the day, in many a minor and forgotten play and farce, burlesque and ballad opera, even in styles of acting. When we reach the 19th century and swing into its second quarter we at last discover a definite movement which can be followed easily till it leads us to Robertson, Gilbert, and modernity. This movement, centering in and led by the "illegitimate" theatres in London and reaching by 1840 the status of a revolution, has been ably traced by Bradley Watson in his book, *From Sheridan to Robertson*. It is my purpose to suggest here that an analogous movement went on in America, though it had no patent theatres to combat, and that in the popular playhouses of New York and other American cities (but always chiefly New York), especially from about 1825 onward to the Civil War, a groundwork was being laid for the modern drama, though almost no plays from the period have survived and much of the

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entertainment which gives us the clue is, indeed, incapable of publication in literary form.

If some scholar could be found who possessed a proper critical understanding of the theatre as *theatre*, not as printable drama merely, and a real love for it, and who could persuade the dean of his Graduate School that the drama didn't perish when Congreve retired to nurse his gout or Sheridan went into Parliament, he could find in this period of American stage history a mass of fascinating material, even more interesting for us Americans, perhaps, than Professor Watson's. He might even demonstrate that had not the Civil War come when it did America would have developed a modern drama as soon as England. At any rate he would have no difficulty in demonstrating that so far as the modern drama is concerned its roots go down into humble soil, into the popular playhouse, and any genuine study of its history must include a study of something hitherto considered unworthy of scholarly attention and, I hasten to add, not even to be understood by any scholar who is not also a lover of the living playhouse.

Let me indicate briefly certain possible approaches to this theme. No doubt the first approach would be through the portals of the old John Street Theatre in New York on that April evening in 1787 when the American Company (composed entirely of English players) first exhibited Royall Tyler's comedy, *The Contrast*. Aping the sentimental style he found in much of the current imported repertoire, young Tyler in this pioneer play no doubt vented his spleen at the Adams family for breaking off his affair with Abby—which was of no consequence to the future. But he also introduced one character, "Jonathan," the Vermont Yankee, who did not speak in the sentimental style and was of great consequence to the future. "Jonathan" was an imitation, though in broad strokes, from nature, not the current English repertoires, though the idea was probably suggested to Tyler by one of the actors who had seen a recent play in London featuring a Yankee character. Even today he is refreshingly nasal and native. He was the father of a long line of stage Yankees, stretch-

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ing all through the 19th century, and through the success of this type he became the inspiration for many other type characters, copied more or less crudely from nature and used to make more intimate and real our native drama. Indeed, the process is still going on.

Suppose then we were to examine the New York stage up to the time of the Civil War (a period for which a complete record exists), beginning with *The Contrast*, to discover with some fair degree of accuracy how many plays and entertainments were devised which leaned upon native character types for their appeal and what was their popular success and their relation to the repertoire as a whole. I say "entertainments" as well as plays because the investigator would soon discover that in our early theatre there was often a bewildering hodgepodge of Shakespeare, farce, character comedies, songs, vaudeville acts; and he is required to do a great deal of reading between the lines, only possible if he has sufficient understanding of the living theatre to make the imaginative reconstructions. Burlesque early became a popular form of entertainment, too. While Vestris was making history in her little London Olympic there was a burlesque theatre on Chambers Street, New York, where the word "Hoboken" was used to get a laugh—as it still is. When James H. Hackett began his career in 1826 he appeared first as a monologue artist, giving "Yankee imitations." In less than five years, however, he had made a version of "Rip Van Winkle" and was imitating the Catskill Dutch in a play which was based, at least, on literature. Not long after, he turned to a fresh native type, the frontiersman, and as "Colonel Nimrod," in coon-skin coat and leggins, more or less inaugurated the "Western" drama. A fascinating chapter of our stage history is that concerning the actor, Frank Chanfrau, a native New Yorker, and his impersonation of "Mose the Fireman" in a patchwork melodrama called *A Glance at New York* (produced in February, 1848). So realistic and vivid was his picture of a Bowery B'hoy (a figure with whom New Yorkers came into daily and often violent contact) that the portrait was greeted with universal acclaim and Chan-

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frau had to go on playing "Mose" for years. His first venture was followed immediately by local firemen plays in almost every seaboard city, for in them, too, the volunteer fire companies were a vivid feature of civic life. Not one of these plays had any literary merit whatsoever. Their importance lay entirely in the opportunity they afforded an actor to paint a realistic and sharply contemporaneous portrait. From such portraits, from the increased audience demand for them with each succeeding discovery of native material, was to emerge a native drama at the opposite pole from the pseudo-Shakespearian dramas our literary men were turning out.

No less important, perhaps, in the story of our changing drama and the evolution of public taste is the long and fascinating chapter on the Negro Minstrels. Here, to be sure, we run into many problems, particularly the interrelation between Negro and White music (a problem by no means yet settled), but it all bears a definite relation to stage entertainment in America and therefore to drama, for the two can never actually be separated. Possibly the first Negro character seen on the English stage, to some extent observed from life, was the slave in *Oroonoko*. He was based on a character Mrs. Behn had seen in Surinam. In America he was once played by the elder Booth, with black skin and woolly hair. "Mungo" in Bickerstaffe and Dibdin's *The Padlock* was concocted on hints from the actor, Moody, who had been in Barbados, but he never played the rôle. Dibdin created it. In 1769 at the John Street Theatre, New York, Lewis Hallam played the part in America, and Dunlap points out that he knew the type from observation and probably gave a much truer performance than Dibdin. In 1815 in Albany Sol Smith saw a native play about the Battle of Lake Champlain in which the actor Allen "played the part of a Negro and sang a song of many verses." Sol quotes some of them, in dialect, from memory. Perhaps it was this play which in 1823 in Cincinnati caused Sol to write into a farce of his the rôle of a Kentucky darky, a part played in black-face by the young Edwin Forrest. The stage Negro was not entirely a novelty, then, when in 1829 a performer

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named Thomas D. Rice, probably in Louisville, watched an old Negro behind his hotel, took down the words of his song, captured the quaint rhythm and the shuffle, and later (probably in Cincinnati—the place is in dispute) came out on the stage, in black-face, and brought down the house with his "Jim Crow" song and dance. Forever after he was known as Jim Crow Rice and in such plays as *Bone Squash* and *The Virginia Mammy*, of his own devising, he popularized Negro types, including the "dandy darky." In 1836 he took his skits to England where he also won favor. Rice at once had many imitators and there is good ground for supposing that the authentic rhythm and color of his Jim Crow song was the real source of the later Negro influence on our stage.

In 1838 we find Barney Williams, later to popularize the immigrant Irishman, playing a "dandy darky" rôle and in 1842 we find four black-face performers, with Dan Emmett of the number, pooling their interests and appearing together on February 6, 1843 at the Bowery Amphitheatre as the Virginia Minstrels. Thus was born the only indigenous form of theatrical art America has given to the world. E. P. Christy almost immediately organized a band, which soon became famous, and which evidently perfected the program technique always thereafter followed. As older readers may recall, the program came to consist of three parts, the first showing the Minstrel Circle, with the grave and meticulously correct interlocutor in the middle and the comical end men, Bones and Tambor, at opposite ends. The rest sat between, all of course blacked up and elaborately dressed and each with some musical instrument. There was a rapid fire of jokes and repartee between Interlocutor and End Men, and solo and concerted singing. The first part ended with the Plantation Walk-Around, usually an orgy of rhythm. Dan Emmett wrote "Dixie" as a Walk-Around, to have it become the national anthem of the South. The second part was called the Olio and consisted of vaudeville specialties and parody stump speeches and burlesques of current plays, acted before a drop while the full stage was being set for part three (the technique of the mod-

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ern review). Part three consisted of a play, acted in black-face, and not always comical. There were no women in the minstrel troupes, and the female parts, or "wenches," as they were called, were acted much in the spirit of college musical comedies.

To understand the great influence of the Minstrels it is necessary to know how widespread were their entertainments and to grasp their intimate and almost impromptu character as well as to realize that song, dance, and speech were all based on a Negro pattern familiar to the spectators, at least superficially; and consequently, for all their exaggerations, the Minstrels were subject to the realistic check. In the two decades before the Civil War, Minstrel halls were scattered everywhere across the Continent with several of them in the larger cities and the new entertainment had crossed to England. Just as a song today is popularized by the radio, so then it was first sung by the Minstrels and if it "went" was issued in sheet form. Had it not been for a Minstrel hall in Pittsburgh, young Stephen Foster might well have ended his days as an obscure bookkeeper. Nearly all his finest songs were written for and first sung by the Minstrels. What those songs meant to young America and still mean to many of us is outside the scope of this article. But we can hardly look lightly on Christy's Minstrels in the 1850's, say, when any night we might have attended them and heard, for the first time, "Way Down upon the Swanee Ribber" or "Camptown Races" or "Hard Times Come Again No More." What those songs meant directly to the theatre is another matter. Hearing one of them, or one like them (what a pity we do not know which), Thackeray said it "moistened his spectacles, in a most unexpected manner." It was simple, of the soil, unaffected, and somehow profoundly true. A people liking such qualities in their songs could not help but seek such qualities in other forms of art, particularly the drama.

The Minstrel jokes and repartee, and especially the burlesques of the Olio, had in them much of the impromptu fun, perhaps, of the old Italian comedy. We have delved learnedly into that older comedy but we have quite neglected our End Men and

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stump speakers. Especially after the Civil War, when traveling companies of all kinds gradually supplanted the local stock companies, the traveling Minstrel troupes had almost nightly to vary their jokes to fit local conditions and constantly to keep their burlesques up to the minute. The audiences assembled eager to see their local celebrities made amiable fun of and the Minstrels seldom disappointed. The End Men and Interlocutor had to work fast, often perhaps actually impromptu; and of course they had to be masters of making it seem impromptu. The technique required of such fun-making was something quite different from that required of their fellow actors then performing in the "classic repertoire." It is essentially an easy, natural, realistic technique which breaks down the footlight barrier completely and takes the audience into the confidence of the player. Its keynote is intimacy; and if you will imagine yourself going one night to see and hear the Christy Minstrels, tapping your feet with "Oh, Susanna," wiping a tear at "Massa's in the Cold, Cold Ground," and shouting with mirth at a parodied oration of Daniel Webster, and then imagine yourself the next night hearing some actor tearing to tatters the pseudo-Shakespearian blank verse of a tragedy about far-off kings and battles long ago, you will perhaps realize the gulf that was yawning between two forms of theatrical entertainment in America, and you will also realize why the Minstrel halls were crowded.

It would doubtless be impossible to determine the relative share of influence the Minstrels had in turning people's attention, just after the Civil War, to the authentic music of the real Negro. Soon after the War several people began to write down the Negro spirituals, many of which might otherwise have perished during the days when the freed slaves were neglecting their native songs. There were other factors, of course, explaining this interest in Negro melody (it was many years before the harmony was understood, though it influenced all male quartet singing in these United States). But we can hardly doubt that twenty-five years of Minstrels based to a considerable degree on at least a superficial observation of the Negro had ripened interest in the

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authentic sources.[1] Be that as it may, we have only to scan the long list of Minstrel performers and to study the subsequent careers of several of them to sense the share this form of entertainment had on our stage. One of the most famous of teams was that of McIntyre and Heath, the former lugubrious and pessimistic, the latter a Peter Pan. They played together from 1874 till well into this century and as Amos and Andy are still going strong on the radio. They were imitated, too, by the real Negroes, Williams and Walker, and thus fathered the present success of genuine Negro performers on our stage and of plays like *Porgy* and *The Green Pastures*. More important, perhaps, in direct influence on drama were Harrigan and Hart who started their careers as Minstrels (Hart was a prize wench) and who carried over into their New York East Side Irish drama the technique of the Minstrel show, in acting, spontaneous fooling, and folk sentiment. Weber and Fields, who did so much later to popularize intelligent burlesque, were Minstrels in their youth. Denman Thompson was an End Man before he was a Yankee farmer. Neil Burgess, famous as "Aunt Abigail" in *The County Fair*, first had his own Minstrel show. Nat Goodwin, Joseph Cawthorne, and Raymond Hitchcock, in various degrees later to influence our stage by their style of acting, were Minstrels in their youth. Chauncey Olcott and Andrew Mack, who both are now remembered as singing Irish comedians, began as Minstrels. Even Edwin Booth and Joe Jefferson once appeared in black-face and so did Otis Skinner. The list could be prolonged indefinitely, and perhaps the point may seem indefinite. In a sense it is because nobody can prove the relation between acting in a Minstrel show and subsequent dramatic styles. The relationship can only be assumed from the evidences of similarity between, say, the Harrigan and Hart Minstrel shows and their later Irish plays, or between the intimate repartee of the Minstrel circle and Nat

[1] It would be interesting to trace any influence of Negro spirituals on Minstrel music. Such songs as "Wake Nicodemus" and "Billy's Dream," sung by Billy Arnold, suggest that such influence was not lacking. The peculiar haunting quality of Foster's songs seems to have derived from his own genius. Of course nothing was then known by the Minstrels of the White spirituals of the South from which many people now believe the Negro spirituals sprang.

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Goodwin's later easy intimacy with his audiences, calling for plays in which such intimacy could be properly exhibited. Perhaps a more definite relation can be established for any one old enough to have seen Willis Sweatnam, an old time Minstrel, act the rôle of the Pullman porter in *Excuse Me*, or the darky in Ade's *The County Chairman*. Here was a man, entirely trained as a Minstrel, who turned to the "straight" drama when Minstrels had passed out of fashion and who brought such natural unction of humor, such meticulous dialect, and such detailed character delineation to his rôles that the value of the Minstrel training in creating a school of realistic acting could scarcely be doubted.

But before leaving the Minstrels let us make one definite comparison between actual plays written before and after the Minstrel influence. It is not possible, of course, to find a play about Negroes before the 1840's, which in itself is significant; the Minstrels opened a new field. But we can find plays about Indians, also an alien element in our population. Let us take one which Professor Quinn includes in his *Representative American Plays*, and speaks rather well of—*Pocahontas*, by George Washington Custis, produced in Philadelphia in 1830. It is written in a style which is almost incredible. White men and Indians all talk alike and their speech is a kind of watery relic of the bombast of Sheridan's *Pizarro*. As the clubs of the warriors are about to descend on John Smith's skull, Pocahontas "rises with dignity" and delivers herself of the following remarkable effusion:

> Attend, but first to me. Cruel king, the ties of blood which bound me to thee are dissevered, as have long been those of thy sanguinary religion; for know that I have abjured thy senseless gods, and now worship the Supreme Being, the true Manitou, and the Father of the Universe; 'tis His almighty hand which sustains me, 'tis His divine spirit that breathes in my soul, and prompts Pocahontas to a deed which future ages will admire.

The prize play which Edwin Forrest caused to be written a year earlier, *Metamora*, and which he acted off and on most of his life, was likewise an Indian play and written in an equally

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outlandish jargon, though one much better fitted for grandiose stage effect. Discounting the fact that the "noble savage" tradition hung over these plays and not over plays about Negroes, the fact remains that prior to the forties and fifties our dramas about an alien people showed no glimmer of realism, no attempt at differentiation. They were things utterly within a choking theatrical tradition and had no connection with a world outside the theatre.

Let us turn now to a play produced in New York in 1859—*The Octoroon*, by Dion Boucicault. Boucicault, to be sure, was not an American and in 1859 had been in America but a few years. He began his career in 1841 with a pseudo-comedy of manners, *London Assurance*, and then made hack adaptations from the French for a dozen years. It was not till he came to the States, where he spent most of the remainder of his life, that he began to contribute to dramatic evolution. The very theme of *The Octoroon* was out of American life and could be found nowhere else. Consider the opening scene, outside the plantation house in Louisiana (all the characters but George are Negro slaves):

(GRACE *is discovered sitting at table with Negro children. Enter* SOLON *from the house.*)

SOLON: Yah! You bomn'ble fry, git out—a gen'leman can't pass for you.

GRACE (*seizing a fly whisk*): Hee! Ha—git out. (*She drives the children away. In escaping they tumble against* SOLON, *who falls with his tray, and the children steal the rolls, etc. that fall about.*)

(*Enter* PETE, *who is lame. He carries a mop and pail.*)

PETE: Hey! Laws a massy! why, clar out! drop dat banana! I'll murder dis yere crowd. (*He chases children; they leap over railing at back; exit* SOLON.) Dem little niggers is a judgment upon dis generation.

(*Enter* GEORGE *from the house.*)

GEO: What's the matter, Pete?

PETE: It's dem black trash, Mas'r George! dis yere property wants claring; dem's gettin' too numerous round; when I gits time I'll kill some on 'em, sure!

GEO: They don't seem to be scared by the threat.

PETE: Stop, you varmin! stop till I git enough of you in one place!

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GEO: Were they all born on this estate?

PETE: Guess dey nebber was born—dem tings! what, dem?—get away! Born here, dem darkies? What, on Terrebonne? Don't b'lieve it, Mas'r George; dem tings nebber was born at all; dey swarmed one mornin' on a sassafras tree in de swamp; I cotched 'em; dey ain't no 'count; don't b'lieve dey'll turn out niggers when dey're growed; dey'll come out sunthin' else.

GRACE: Yes, Mas'r George, dey was born here, an' ol' Pete is fonder on 'em dan he is of his fiddle on a Sunday.

And so on. Surely a little genre picture still possessing truth and charm. Later in the play there is a fine scene where the slaves are sold at auction and old "Pete" becomes the leading figure as "Uncle Tom" had been a few years before. It is obvious that something revolutionary had happened in playwriting since *Pocahontas*. The influence may be felt, indeed, by direct comparison, because there is an Indian in *The Octoroon* (played originally by Boucicault himself). He does not speak hifalutin rhetoric. *He doesn't speak at all. He grunts!* He is a realistic Indian. The "noble savage" has completely vanished.

Burlesque, too, had its part in deflating the noble savage. Brougham's famous burlesque of *Pocahontas* was produced only a few years before *The Octoroon* and after having seen it none of our ancestors could have sat again through the Custis play, or through *Metamora*, with a completely straight face. The enormous popularity of burlesque preceding the Civil War was much less a sign of dramatic sickness than of health. The *drama* was sick, sick with pseudo-Shakespearian blank verse, pathetic attempts at pseudo-Restoration comedy, and all the bellowings and bombast of an outmoded repertoire. People went to the Minstrel shows because they were spontaneous and had some reality; they went to burlesques because the burlesques openly scoffed at what they, too, were beginning to realize was ridiculous. Love of burlesque, indeed, is not a sign of unintelligence but the exact opposite. It implies considerable sophistication and a critical sense. The American audiences who rocked in rhythm to Stephen Foster's simple, straightforward melodies and roared with delight

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at Brougham's burlesques were keen and alive. They were rich ground being prepared for the seed of the modern drama.

An investigation of all the entertainments given in New York during a single season almost any year in the decades just preceding the Civil War will disclose not only a great number of burlesques obviously topical and local in appeal (and hence acted in an intimate and more or less realistic style) but many plays or individual "acts" which will bear closer scrutiny. The stage Irishman, for example, is present, but with a difference. Evidently he is not the stage Irishman of tradition—a "Sir Lucius O'Trigger." He is a rough immigrant, whose habitat is New York. To be recognizably this type he has to be acted by a Barney Williams, born in Manhattan, and copying his style from nature. (And we have seen that Barney Williams got his start in blackface.) He figures in scenes, too, of neighborhood intimacy. In him, as well as in the Minstrels, we see the Harrigan and Hart plays shaping, the "local color" dramas of the eighties and nineties taking form, which with James A. Herne merged into a true naturalism.

What I have so briefly sketched will, perhaps, suggest the possibilities of the field for combined scholarly and critical research (alas, that the two words cannot be considered one!) by some student who truly loves and understands the theatre. None other should attempt it. None other, indeed, will be able sufficiently to understand how the old entertainments were acted, what effects they sought, and consequently what effect they had on audience taste and subsequent playwriting. And such an investigation should not close without a brief survey of our theatre in the decades following the Civil War, to see the result of that turbulent struggle on public taste and on the economic structure of the country as it affected the theatre. The investigator will probably emerge from this phase of his researches a profound pacifist, and somewhat shaken in his belief that material expansion is the *summum bonum* of civilization.

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An Untrammeled Mind—Friedrich Paulsen

THEODORE LORENZ

AMONG those Americans who attended lectures at the University of Berlin during the last two decades of the nineteenth and the first eight years of the present century there must be quite a number who cherish a memory of delightful social evenings they once enjoyed at a cozy house hidden behind the trees of the garden suburb of Steglitz. On warm summer nights dinner would sometimes be laid on the grape-vine-scented verandah, and with the old trees whispering overhead and the wine gleaming golden in the glasses an animated and many-voiced conversation on current topics of public life or on matters of scientific and literary interest was carried on, sometimes until midnight was not far away.

This was the home of Friedrich Paulsen, the philosopher, whose lectures formed one of the outstanding attractions to students in all faculties and of all nationalities. A quarter of a century has gone by since his voice was for the last time heard in the lecture-room. Paulsen was among the none too numerous German university professors of those days who sought intimate personal contact with a select group of their students; and the presence of Americans in those gatherings at his house was the rule rather than the exception.

Mention of Paulsen's name in America frequently calls forth the spontaneous response: "Oh, yes! I first learned philosophy from his *Introduction!*" In the late Dr. Thilly's translation, Paulsen's *Introduction to Philosophy* was a widely used textbook for many years. Thilly, the well-known philosopher of Cornell University, has also translated Paulsen's *System of Ethics*. American educators such as President Nicholas Murray Butler of Columbia University and Abraham Flexner, the Director of the new Institute for Advanced Study, have acknowl-

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edged the debt of the civilized world to Paulsen as an educator and philosopher. In his recent book entitled *Universities, American, English, German*, which attracted such widespread attention, Flexner speaks of Paulsen as "a broad and profound scholar of sound judgment and beautiful spirit who helped hundreds, struggling with the perplexities of life and thought, to find themselves."

But Paulsen had already been held in high esteem by an older generation of American scholars. President Eliot of Harvard repeatedly sought his advice. One of the earliest occasions was in 1884 when Eliot was looking for a representative of German language and literature for Harvard. His great friend, Emerton, the historian, had drawn his attention to Kuno Francke, at that time on the editorial staff of the *Monumenta Germaniæ Historica*. It was to Paulsen that Eliot turned for information. In his unpublished memoirs Paulsen refers to the matter in the following words: "I told him that, if a faithful representative of the German spirit was desired at Harvard, a representative, that is to say, of the spirit of the older Germany, the Germany of Goethe's times, it would be impossible to find a more genuine incarnation of that type than in Kuno Francke." One can read between the lines Paulsen's delight at the opportunity which thus offered itself to his intimate friend, his junior by nearly ten years. And thus began Kuno Francke's brilliant career at Harvard, which only terminated thirty-three years later when he resigned his Professorship of the History of German Culture together with the honorary curatorship of the Germanic Museum. He had founded the latter in 1902 with the generous support of two wealthy German-American citizens.

In 1904 Kuno Francke visited Europe in the interests of his museum. William II received him in audience and subsequently donated the magnificent collection of casts illustrating the development of German sculpture. On this same occasion the idea of German-American exchange-professorships was first discussed and Friedrich Paulsen was urged to accept the first appointment. As a matter of fact President Eliot had already solic-

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ited him four or five years earlier to come to America to deliver a course of lectures at Harvard. The universities of Yale and Cornell had added invitations of their own by asking him to repeat the course in each of these institutions. "I had declined," Paulsen writes in his manuscript memoirs, "partly on account of a lack of facility in the English language, and partly because I could not help feeling that to push oneself forward in this way smacked of arrogance or was at least liable of being so interpreted." He added a whimsical paraphrase of a passage from Goethe's *Faust:*

Bilde mir nicht ein, was Rechtes zu wissen,
Bilde mir nicht ein, ich könnte was lehren,
die AMERIKANER zu bessern und zu bekehren![1]

Paulsen's modesty was one of the most lovable features of his character, but there were occasions when one could not help regretting it. As to his imagined lack of facility in speaking English, his abilities in that respect were far superior to those of many a foreign diplomatist of our own days who unhesitatingly inflicts his eloquence on his radio audiences.

It was in vain that President Eliot's urgent invitation was now repeated in connection with the contemplated exchange-professorships and that it was seconded by Dr. Althoff, that marvellously efficient if somewhat autocratic Director of one of the most important departments of the Prussian *Kultusministerium*, who guided the development of higher education in Germany for over a quarter of a century. Paulsen writes:

My own attitude remained unchanged. I again refused and all the more definitively, as a political flavor had now been imparted to the affair. It had become a case of a professor being sent upon an official mission, as it were. Needless to say, that would have entailed no end of formal calls and receptions and presentations and dinners—obligations, in short, that would have amply sufficed in themselves to deter me from

[1] In Miss Raphael's rendering:

"I don't think much of what I know,
I don't imagine I could show
The AMERICANS how to mend their ways,
Or help them on to better days."

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the journey! Nor could I help feeling that the ardent way in which friendship was now being cultivated with America—Prince Henry's visit had just taken place, and presents had been sent over—was apt to produce an impression of design and thus to leave a sediment of ill humor.

With a shrug of contempt Paulsen then refers to nationalist hotspurs who in the faculty meetings opposed the scheme for very different reasons, namely, because they regarded it as an affront to the dignity of the German universities inasmuch as the American institutions would thus be placed on an equality with the German! In the end the faculty voted to leave the decision to the Ministry of Education, and since the Kaiser was strongly in favor of the scheme it went through. "In the following winter term," Paulsen writes, "Professor F. G. Peabody of Harvard, with whom very cordial relations were established, gave an excellent account of all the best features of the American character."

Turning back once more to the year 1884, when President Eliot first wrote to Paulsen, it is pleasant to reflect that the latter was already appreciated at his true worth by American thinkers and scholars at a time when one might still have applied to him the saying that no prophet is without honor save in his own country. This was true at any rate as far as his relations with the ruling academic circles were concerned, worshippers at the shrine of a narrow-minded classical humanism. One might perhaps have found food for reflection in the fact that students were flocking in great numbers to the lectures of this associate professor who had no official standing in the faculty and who was already approaching his fortieth year. But whatever significance there was in such popularity its practical import was restricted to the future. For, as Paulsen himself once remarked, if any student in those days intended to go in for an examination it would have been anything but a recommendation for him to have to state that he had pursued his studies under the guidance of a man with such dangerously progressive tendencies in all fields.

In 1884 there was perhaps no more maligned man than Paul-

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sen throughout academic Germany. A storm of indignation had greeted the appearance of his History of Higher Education (*Geschichte des Gelehrten Unterrichts*). For, in addition to being a scholarly work of erudition, in which entirely new foundations were laid, it also came to be regarded as a program. Paulsen dared to attack the monopoly of the humanistic *gymnasium*, the only secondary school at that time whose graduates were admitted to German universities. Since both Latin and Greek were compulsory subjects of instruction, the idea of elective studies being practically unknown, those who devoted themselves to the study of natural science or other modern branches of learning found it more and more impossible to acquire a sound foundation for such studies at the *gymnasium*. Paulsen advocated three parallel secondary schools: (1) the old humanistic *gymnasium* where Latin, Greek, and French were taught; (2) the *realgymnasium* with Latin, French, and English, and with increased provision for instruction in mathematical and natural sciences; (3) the *oberrealschule*, where still greater stress was to be laid on the latter and only modern languages were to be taught.

The discussions of those days ought to be of immense interest to American educators and educationists in our own times. For has not Dr. Abraham Flexner said quite recently that whatever natural talent may be found on the part of our high-school students is only too often poured wholesale into the gutter? A choice between a number of different courses of instruction, each single one of which forms a comprehensive organic whole, would seem to deserve very serious consideration as being perhaps the golden mean between the antiquated rigid preparatory school and the chaotic conglomeration of elective subjects which so often goes to make up a modern student's program. The curricula of the *gymnasium* and its sister institutions, it should be mentioned, correspond to the curriculum of the American high school with the addition of the curriculum of the first two college years. It has been suggested that a reorganization of American secondary schools along similar lines might serve to clear the way for a wider cultivation of university studies in the true sense.

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In Germany the publication of Paulsen's book acted like a call to arms. But the issue was not definitely joined until 1890, when a conference was called in Berlin for the purpose of dealing with the problems besetting higher education. At that conference Paulsen was the spokesman of the progressive forces. In his memoirs he speaks of the conference as a sham from beginning to end—"a great deception, and intended to deceive from the first!" For everything had been so engineered as to insure the victory of the classical humanists. He then continues:

This careful *mise-en-scène* suffered a curious diversion through the unexpected appearance of the Kaiser at the opening meeting. All members of the conference had to be presented to him, after which he spoke to the assembly about his own "experiences" and apprised it of his imperial "will." Both the tone and the contents of his address . . . produced a most painful impression. Speaking to specialists and trusted advisers of his Minister, gray heads most of them, this man, still young in years, far younger than any one else among those present, in order to parade as the leader of the modern age, destined to open the way into a new future, threw into the discard with supercilious disdain what most of them had been working for all their lives. To ears attuned to the accents of the declining nineteenth century this sounded very strange, like an echo from the eighteenth century, when there were only princes and servants. . . . Every word of the Kaiser intensified the impression that an autocrat, speaking to an assembly which had been convened for purposes of deliberation, was telling its members what advice they were expected to give. . . .

In the concluding meeting of the conference, in which the Kaiser again took part, I was scheduled to speak about the *realgymnasium*. On the preceding evening the Minister himself had strongly suggested to me that I had better withdraw. The doom of the *realgymnasium*, he said, had been definitely decided upon. I replied that, if such was his wish, it was far from my desire to push myself forward; but on the other hand, I added, I was entirely willing to plead the lost cause, and I could not help thinking that to refuse a condemned man a last word was bound to produce a bad impression. "Very well, then," he replied, "go ahead and speak for the *realgymnasium!*"

In my address I endeavored to demonstrate the indispensability of this type of secondary school in the shortest and most impressive way possible by pointing out that there were professions which could do without Greek, but not without Latin. The military profession, I added,

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was a case in point, as was evidenced by the fact that the curriculum of the *realgymnasium* had been adopted for the training of officers in the military academies. I had been specially warned not to allude to this point, as the Kaiser was extremely touchy about it; but I did not think fit to forego my strongest argument. The Kaiser, who was sitting at the same table a few feet away from me, kept his cold blue eyes fixed on me in an almost threatening manner; but I continued quite calmly to advance my arguments. All I got for my pains was one remark which the Kaiser made in the course of his concluding speech. With regard to the proposal that had been brought forward to copy in other secondary schools the curriculum adopted at the military academies, he must point out, he said, that these military academies stood exclusively under his own authority and did not concern us here in the least. It would hardly have been possible to offer a reply to this statement, which completely confused the question at issue, even if the formal break-up of the meeting had not made any further words impossible.

The Kaiser had had his way and the classical humanists seemed to have triumphed. But their joy was short-lived, for they soon discovered, as Paulsen said, that in their eagerness to save the monopoly of the humanistic *gymnasium* they had failed to save the humanistic *gymnasium* itself! The instruction in Latin and Greek had been cut down to such a degree that the aims which they cherished could no longer be attained. Consequently they chafed as much under the new regulations as the advocates of the modern schools whose students continued to be excluded from the universities. The rising general discontent made it necessary to call together another conference in 1900, when the new order of things, so intimately connected with Paulsen's name, i.e., the institution of three parallel types of secondary schools, triumphed with flying colors. Naturally the relations between him and the Department of Education now became very close and he liked to point out that, after having been assailed as a heretic for such a long time, he had now been turned into an adherent of the orthodox faith without having changed a single one of his convictions! His critical attitude towards the Kaiser also remained unchanged, and courtly decorations as well as extra-academic titles he always despised. A few years earlier (1897) he had published the second edition of his

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monumental work on the History of Higher Education and in 1906 he published a shorter account of the History of German Education in general (treating of the primary as well as the secondary schools and universities) which shows his grasp as a historian of German culture and makes delightful reading. An English version by the author appeared in 1908 under the title *German Education Past and Present.*

About Friedrich Paulsen *the philosopher* a very few words must suffice. If, as has sometimes been observed, he did not "make a school" it was for the simple reason that he did not want to make one. To him a philosophical *weltanschauung* was thinkable only in the form of a tentative and ever renewed synthesis based on all the data of the individual sciences. In his lectures, which were almost like informal talks, he used to take his hearers to high mountain tops, as it were, from which could be clearly discerned the broad roads as well as the more arduous paths along which the pursuit of truth had to be carried on. He never made a secret though of the direction in which according to his own conviction truth had to be sought.

Paulsen really did himself an injustice by using the traditional term "parallelism" in defining his Spinozistic standpoint regarding the cardinal philosophical problem of the relation between mind and body or between physical and mental processes. Thinkers of our own days have spoken of similar views under the name of the "double aspect" or the "double language" hypothesis, which is a much more satisfactory description also of Paulsen's standpoint in that it does not postulate parallelism between all individual physical and mental processes any more than it does between all individual words in two sentences expressing one and the same thought in two different languages. But above all one must never lose sight of the fact that to Paulsen these two pictures of one and the same complex of processes—now as seen from within by introspection, and at another time as seen from without through the medium of the senses—do not partake of the same degree of reality. For the sense-picture (Kant's "appearance" in contradistinction to the "thing-in-

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itself") has reality only inasmuch as it is actually perceived by a sentient being endowed with senses.

On the basis of an uncompromising pan-psychism Paulsen enlarged this view of the relation between physical and psychical processes to the apprehension of God in his relation to the Universe. But while it is quite legitimate to speak here of pantheism or of Spinozistic "panentheism" (which holds that God includes the world as a part of though not the whole of his being) or to attribute to Paulsen the idea of a cosmic super-organism, one must never lose sight of the fact that Paulsen's God is neither the "mathematical" God of modern natural scientists nor the animistic deity of nature-worshippers, but the God whose existence is postulated by our own ethical consciousness and experience, as proclaimed by Immanuel Kant.

Paulsen once called himself "a Kantian, but not a Kantian of orthodox observance." That remark was intended to refer above all to Kant's doctrine of time, space, and the concepts of substance and causation as *a priori* forms of our perceptive apprehension. Paulsen agreed that our mind imposes these forms on the data supplied by the senses, not however as an innate possession of its own but rather as a synthetic network, ever woven anew by each successive generation. These views were closely related to those advanced by certain pragmatists, especially F. C. S. Schiller in England and William James in America. James and Paulsen were highly congenial thinkers, warmly appreciating each other.

When pragmatism first created a stir in the academic world Paulsen was seriously ill and approaching the end of his days. He was therefore unable to respond to Dr. Althoff's urgent suggestion that he should define in the *Internationale Wochenschrift* his standpoint towards this new philosophic theory. Althoff had taken great interest in the foundation of this organ for the discussion of scientific questions of world-wide interest. When asked to name some one else who might write the article in his stead Paulsen's choice fell upon me, and the subsequent publication of my article further led to my being asked by Hans Vaihinger, at that time the Nestor of the German Kantians, to

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discuss in the *Kantstudien* the relations between pragmatism and Kant's philosophy. I well remember what a labor of love in the true sense that was and how I looked forward to hearing Paulsen's comments later. But alas! when the quarterly issue of the *Kantstudien* containing my article appeared its first pages, heavily blocked in black, contained an obituary of Friedrich Paulsen.

If Paulsen could have lived to our own day, as he well might have done since he would be no more than 88 years old, how he would revel in all the new discoveries and inventions and theories in the field of natural science! How eagerly he would take part in their philosophical interpretation and evaluation! His own ideas in the field of natural philosophy were still based on the old mechanistic conception of masses in motion. But the new idea of the atom as a microcosm of electric forces would have irresistibly appealed to the inmost spirit of his philosophic thought. It might have reminded him of his own disintegrating analysis of the idea of "substance," based on its critical investigation by John Locke and David Hume, by which he nearly forfeited his admission as *privatdozent* (lecturer) to the University of Berlin in 1876. The venerable members of the faculty had stood aghast at his "nihilistic" contention that there was no such thing as a "substance" in the scholastic sense, not even a "soul-substance!"

More than anything else Paulsen would have hailed Einstein's new theories. The identification of matter with energy is entirely in consonance with Paulsen's metaphysical ontology, based on Schopenhauer's idea of an unconscious "will," unillumined by any intellect, but ceaselessly striving, and corresponding in a way to Spinoza's *conatus*, i.e., "striving" (and acting) in contradistinction to inert "being." Nor could he have wished for any better theoretic foundation for that "ethical energism" (conceived in the Aristotelean spirit) which was the key-note of his practical philosophy. But above all, how Paulsen would have gloried in Einstein's doctrine of Time and Space! How enthusiastically he would have claimed it as a corroboration of Kant's doctrine of the phenomenalistic character of Time and

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Space—*just because* (as has sometimes been somewhat unduly emphasized) the two theories rest on different foundations.

But this calls us back with a sharp reminder to our own present! For is not this the same Einstein who has just renounced his German citizenship and whose resignation the Prussian Academy of Sciences has accepted "without regret"? What would Paulsen say to it? We need not attempt a reply to this question, for the answer is furnished by an incident related in his memoirs.

It was in 1895, the year in which the Kaiser's Government instituted its big drive against the German social-democrats. A young Jewish lecturer in mathematics at the University of Berlin, Dr. Arons, was accused of socialist propaganda and the faculty was requested to dismiss him. Paulsen vigorously defended the liberty and independence of the universities, both with his pen, as e.g. in Maximilian Harden's *Zukunft*, and also by his speeches in the meetings of the faculty. He had just become a member of the latter, having been appointed full professor the preceding year. Referring to one of these meetings, he writes:

> I strongly opposed the proposal made by some of those present that the Dean of the Faculty should be authorized to institute an investigation of Dr. Arons. I suggested that the decision of the faculty should be based exclusively on the material presented by the Government, adding that possibly a reprimand might be in order on account of one or two of Dr. Arons' utterances. A few days later I received a request from Dr. Althoff to call on him at the Ministry of Education. The moment I arrived I saw that I had incurred official displeasure. He had quite evidently been informed in full detail of our discussions; he even knew how the individual faculty members had voted. There was of course no other explanation but that some member of the faculty had divulged these matters to him either directly or indirectly; but I am not certain who it could have been. He reproached me violently. I seemed to have the idea, he said, that a university had the right to constitute itself as a republic, a State within a State, entirely independent of the Government. I replied that I had no such notion, but that I was of the opinion that the faculty, convened to act in its judicial function as a disciplinary court for *privatdozenten*, should and indeed ought not to listen to directions given to it by the Minister of Education, and further that the

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faculty in the same capacity must be free to decide whether there was to be further investigation, or whether the case was to be adjudged solely on the basis of the material submitted by the Government.

Without entering into this legal question, he then said that it was altogether intolerable that a university professor should hold the tenets of the social-democrats, since he was in the civil service of the State, after which he abruptly terminated the conversation with a sudden "*Adieu!*" pronounced in an almost threatening tone. I felt no less angry myself, so I picked up my hat and walked out with an equally abrupt "*Adieu!*" It was quite evident that he intended to intimidate me. As a matter of fact, he had already told me on a previous occasion, when he happened to meet me soon after my article in the *Zukunft* had appeared, that it was hardly permissible for a university professor to appear as a contributor to a weekly paper, every single number of which contained passages guilty of *lèse-majesté*. To which I had replied that in my opinion the relation of a writer to a periodical in which he once in a while published a signed article was not a matter of such serious import.

After these occurrences Althoff and Paulsen, who were near neighbors in Steglitz, for a long while cut each other in the street. But the time came when the Kaiser's interest in the persecution of the social-democrats flagged and Althoff, who after all knew a man when he saw one, effected a reconciliation; in later years Paulson became, as we have already seen, one of his most trusted friends and advisers, a person whom he informally consulted whenever an important decision had to be made. But what would have happened, one cannot help asking, if Paulsen had done the same thing today, if under the present *régime* in Germany he had opposed the Government by standing up for a university teacher who was a Jew and a socialist and guilty of Marxist propaganda? Would it have been possible to say "All is well that ends well!" as we have just seen it to be possible even in the heyday of the Hohenzollern autocracy? One trembles to think how he might have fared!

The moment one makes this statement however, it becomes necessary to add that Paulsen himself has been accused of anti-semitism, and for aught I know fanatical Jew-baiters among the national-socialists may today be quoting him in support of their own views. The fact is that Paulsen always insisted that Ger-

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many's eastern frontier should be closed to the Jews, partly in order to keep out those highly undesirable semitic types which entered Germany from Russian Poland and partly to facilitate the assimilation of the Jews already resident in Germany, following England's example. He regarded it as criminal folly to ignore the antisemitic tendencies, deeply rooted in the German national character, which have grown out of historical conditions that have no counterpart in the United States. "All I had intended," he writes in his memoirs, "was to make it clear that we have to deal here with a very genuine difficulty, a difficulty felt as such also by men whose sentiments are anything but antisemitic. I wanted to point out that the rate at which the Jews were pouring into academic professions foreshadowed a sort of monopoly, and that long before this monopoly could become a reality, the elementary instincts of the indigenous nationalities were bound to be roused to such a pitch as to make a catastrophe inevitable." Prophetic words, written in 1898! "I may add," Paulsen concludes, "that there are Jews among my personal friends, and that they have taken no exception to what I have said concerning these problems."

Paulsen's heart would have been rent if he had lived to see all the calamities that have come over his beloved German people ever since 1914. During his later years a shadow of fear and apprehension regarding the future of Germany sometimes flitted across his mind. Especially the growing estrangement between England and Germany filled him with serious misgivings. English thinkers had exercised a determining influence on his own thought and English culture and civilization were very congenial to him. In 1904 he spent his summer vacation in England, where I was living at the time. As I was walking with him through Kentish woods and fields he pointed out how closely the arrangement of the latter resembled the aspect of the rural scene which is still to be found on Germany's northernmost seacoast, in the old homeland of the Anglo-Saxons, which was also his own—the same hedgerows, the same stiles, the same sturdy wooden gates. We frequently discussed the vexed question of

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Anglo-German relations in those days and he referred to these conversations when, on his return to Germany, he published an article entitled "Germany and England" which appeared simultaneously (November, 1904) in the *Deutsche Rundschau* and the *Contemporary Review* and in which he appealed to all the sane instincts of the two peoples.

Paulsen continued his efforts for the improvement of Anglo-German relations to the end of his life. At a time when the terrible and inexorable disease that was sapping his strength was already far enough developed to make the effort an exhausting ordeal he insisted on addressing a meeting convened in the Berlin Stock Exchange for the purpose of influencing German public opinion in favor of friendship with England. In a war between England and Germany, he warned, it really did not matter which of the two nations was the victor, for even the victor would not be able to enjoy the fruits of the victory. And Europe, he added, was likely from then on to take a back seat in the councils of the peoples of the world. Again prophetic words!

In those last years, when the sustained effort necessary for the conception and execution of a new great literary work was no longer possible to him, Paulsen placed his pen at the service of the German people by taking part much more frequently than before in the discussion of current affairs and problems. Consequently—in the words of the preacher at his open grave—the German people had become accustomed to listen for a word from "their Faithful Eckhardt" whenever a question became burning or whenever an important decision had to be made. But a still prouder title of honor was conferred upon him in those latter days, mainly in view of the fact that the foundations of the magnificent new structure of higher education in Germany were largely his work. "*Praeceptor Germaniae*," the title which Philip Melanchthon had borne in the time of the Renaissance and Reformation, was now bestowed upon this man whose own education had begun in the little village school on the Frisian coast where his father, the descendant of a long line of weather-beaten seafarers, was a farmer.

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There was still another activity which Paulsen insisted on carrying on up to his last few weeks, the work which he always regarded as "the" work of his life. At a time when he could no longer walk nor stand, when he had to be wheeled or carried even from one room to another, he still insisted on continuing his lectures at the university. His family and friends and medical advisers raised no objections because they saw he was speaking the truth when he said it was the one thing that was keeping him alive. The moment he took his chair, facing his beloved students, all weakness and frailty seemed to fall from him; he always spoke of his lectures as a daily rejuvenation. But the day came at last when that, too, was no longer possible. On July 27 he wrote the following words:

> Today I have concluded my lectures on Psychology, not without deep emotion. Is it the last time that I am to be allowed to address my students? I was altogether at the end of my strength. Not only the drive to Berlin, but even the lecture itself, has now become a great fatigue, whereas, until quite recently, it had always had a refreshing and stimulating effect on me. For thirty-three years, more than a generation, I have been lecturing, and gratitude for the love and care I have always devoted to this work has not been withheld from me. If now the end has come, I will not complain, but confess joyfully and with a thankful heart: "*Cursum quem fortuna dedit peregi!*"

Eighteen days later he breathed his last in that cozy house under the whispering old trees. The house is still there, hidden in its shady garden, but that enticing sound of animated voices and laughter is no longer heard. For a blight has fallen on it, the blight of that appalling poverty which has engulfed Germany's middle class and especially so many of her brain-workers. Rudolf Paulsen, the philosopher's son, who has made a name for himself as writer and poet, did not escape that fate. He, too, has had to fight a desperate fight in order to keep the roof over his large family and to retain possession of the house where his father's literary remains are still preserved. It is to him that I am indebted for permission to quote from Friedrich Paulsen's unpublished memoirs.

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Our Legislative Oligarchies

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TO paraphrase a biblical expression, it may well be said that while our state governors propose, the legislatures, in the last analysis, dispose! And to be entirely truthful one would have to add that in the majority of our states a few carefully selected legislative committees made up of perhaps one quarter of the legislators respectively are for all practical purposes the legislature. In order to understand at all fully the intolerable situation with which a governor is faced at the present time in his attempts to gain the enactment of legislation it must be stated at the outset that while the chief executive is vested under our state constitutions with the responsibility of leadership in legislation, the power necessary to translate that leadership into effective action has not to any appreciable extent been granted. Under the rules followed in over nine-tenths of our legislative bodies "a little group of willful men" can of their own volition thwart the demands of the electorate and defy successfully the leadership of the governor. A closeup of the average legislature in action would in many cases reveal two or more party leaders in the legislature, with the cooperation of the clerk of the house, in the act of deciding what bills should or should not become law, while the people's representatives sat by in varying degrees of ignorance. And when the session is drawing to a close it is not uncommon to find that laws are being enacted at the rate of about two a minute. Our representative government in the states has thus become a name rather than a fact and in its

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place there has been substituted a system of rule by legislative oligarchy.

Historically, the evolution of the chief executive of the state into a position of leadership in the legislative process has been gradual. Executive tyranny in England had bred in the American colonists a fear of any form of government that might make possible its repetition. Consequently with only two exceptions the early state constitutions followed the leadership of the Virginia colony and provided a framework of government in which the legislature was supreme. Only in Massachusetts and New York was any regard given to a theory of checks and balances in the relations between the executive and legislative branches of the government, and even in the latter State the power to initiate and to veto measures was given to a council of revision rather than to the governor alone. It was not until the first revision of the State constitution in 1821 that the council was abolished and its powers vested in the governor alone. The 19th century, however, was to mark the emergence of the governor into a position where he could at least command if he could not compel the enactment of legislation, and during this same period the supremacy of the state legislature correspondingly declined, for the people, oftentimes disgusted by the inability of the state legislatures to produce effective leadership and aroused to action by the corruption existing generally among legislative bodies during this period, turned to the governor as their champion in the struggle for reform. Today the need for vesting in the state executive sufficient power over legislation to make possible the carrying out of the will of the electorate in law-making is vital.

It requires no unusual imagination to envisage the governor as the fountainhead from which legislation of statewide application should naturally flow. Through his messages to the legislature he is empowered to initiate legislation and in many of our states he is responsible for the introduction into the legislature of administration bills embodying his proposals. In these messages he speaks in the interests of all of the people in the state. On the other hand the average member of the legislature, in the

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measures he introduces, is in most cases interested either in the welfare of an individual or of a special group. Of the several thousands of bills introduced annually into each of our state legislatures it has been estimated that less than 3 per cent result from the governor's proposals. In the vast majority of cases, however, these latter measures transcend in importance to the state at large the bills introduced by the members independently of the executive. But in proportion to the total number of laws enacted during a single session of our state legislature, those resulting from the initiation of the governor may be estimated at approximately less than 5 per cent. For instance, in one state—New York—in which it was possible to make a mathematically accurate calculation, 764 laws in all were enacted during the session of 1907. During the annual sessions from 1907 through 1931 the total number of laws resulting from the governor's recommendations was 575. An almost casual search of the governor's messages and of the statutes of the various states will reveal the fact that the grist coming from the legislative mill is largely of legislative and not of executive initiation. Thus for an incredible number of meaningless and useless laws on our statute books we must thank our legislatures. Nor is the reason for this almost passionate zeal on the part of our legislators difficult of discovery. Above all else Representative John Jones having been elected to the state legislature wants to be re-elected. It is logical to believe then that his activity as a legislator will be controlled largely by the desire to do as much as possible for the people in his district. The vast quantities of private and local bills enacted each year up and down the land is eloquent testimony that the folks back home have not been forgotten! And they go far in explaining why a more effective consideration has not been given to the legislative proposals initiated by the governor.

It is, however, with the committee system of procedure that our quarrel chiefly lies. For it is behind the closed doors of the legislative committee that a burial service has too often been performed over the governor's legislative program. In New York State, for instance, a careful investigation has established

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the fact that in every case covering a period of 25 years where bills have been introduced embodying the governor's proposals over 60 per cent of the bills defeated were killed in committee.[1]

Now, conceding that there is a real need for some sifting process in order that the wheat may be separated from the chaff in the legislative process, it is here submitted that the governor's proposals should not be subjected to this star chamber procedure. For the very importance of the recommendations made by the chief executive in his messages at once sets them apart from the majority of the bills introduced under legislative auspices. That a few men high in the councils of a majority party in the legislature should be empowered to pass on the question as to whether the members of the legislature should have the privilege of discussing and voting on the merits of the governor's proposals is a denial of the fundamental principles of any government termed a democracy.

Despite this obvious weakness in the present system of procedure in our state legislatures as it relates to the treatment given to the governor's legislative proposals, little consideration has been given to the problem. Michigan for example in 1933 established a legislative council. Its membership, however, is selected from among the members of the legislature and its primary duty is to prepare a legislative program for submission to the next legislative session. There has been no attempt here to strengthen the effectiveness of the governor's leadership. The council would appear to be an advisory body to the legislature rather than to the governor. Wisconsin, on the other hand, in 1931 did create an executive advisory council composed of representatives of the legislature and, in addition, the leaders of special group-interests such as industry, agriculture, and labor. This council in addition to broad investigating powers is authorized to assist the governor in the preparation of a legisla-

[1] Owing to the fact that only one state—New York—publishes an annual legislative index it has been found impossible to estimate with accuracy the number of the governors' proposals defeated in committee in other states. From an examination of the legislative journals of other states it may be concluded, however, that the fate of a measure rests with the committee, regardless of its importance, and not with the legislature as a whole.

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tive program to be transmitted to the legislature in his annual messages. But the statute failed signally to empower the governor to compel the consideration by the legislature of the program proposed in his messages.

It is, in the opinion of the writer, only through this latter approach that the solution of the problem can best be found. The relative ineffectiveness of the governor as a leader in legislation under the present system of procedure in our state legislatures indicates clearly the need for the enactment of laws which will strengthen rather than diminish the legislative power of the state executive. Years of experience have at least shown the need of a guiding hand in legislation. On too many occasions the legislative leaders of our lawmaking bodies have demonstrated either their unwillingness or their inability to carry through a constructive program independently of the executive. Indeed, on numberless occasions they have delighted in emasculating the legislative program of a progressive governor when after some years of struggle they have at last been forced to take some action under the pressure of an aroused public opinion. Only in a few states have these tactics resulted in increasing the legislative power of the governor, the centralization of financial power in the hands of the governor through the device of the executive budget being, of course, an outstanding instance.

It is proposed then to make impossible in the future the defeat of the governor's legislative program without first affording an opportunity for discussion to all the members of the legislative body. The invisible and irresponsible control held by the few legislative leaders must give place to a reasoned discussion of those proposals affecting the welfare of all throughout the state by all of the elected representatives of the people. This result can best be assured by providing that the governor is to be aided in the preparation of his annual messages by the creation of an executive advisory council composed of the representatives of industry, labor, agriculture, the legislative body, and the public; that the council is to meet with the governor in advance of the legislative session; and that administration bills embodying this

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legislative program are to be drafted by a special bill-drafting committee and introduced into the legislature when the governor's annual message is read. These administration measures shall then be referred to the appropriate committees in the legislature but on the written request of the governor must within thirty days be reported out of committee for debate by the legislature sitting in committee of the whole. Opposition bills may at the same time be reported out for debate. In all cases a final vote, which is recorded, must be taken. These measures, furthermore, shall be given precedence over all except appropriation bills. During the session the governor shall be empowered to send special messages recommending legislation. These proposals, if accompanied by administration bills and a request from the governor, shall be reported out of committee within ten days, and debate shall be held and a record vote taken on these measures before the adjournment of the legislature.

That the day of executive futility should be terminated and that a new deal in executive responsibility coupled with power should be established in its place seems hardly open to argument. To those who profess to see a trend toward Fascism in any attempt to strengthen the position of the executive it may be replied that the plan outlined above will serve as a guarantee rather than a denial of the principle of free speech, for by removing the present power of censorship from the legislative committee the plan will again make possible an effective criticism.

It would seem, then, that only through the reform of our system of procedure will our legislative bodies be freed from that domination which through the last decades has made the leadership of the governor less than 50 per cent effective, has caused a feeling of contempt toward our legislative bodies to become widespread, and has prevented public opinion, despite the best efforts of courageous executives, from exercising in the majority of instances any real control over the actions of state legislatures.

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The Religious Crisis in Rural America

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RURAL America continues to be one of the nation's greatest storm centers. The urban drift of western civilization, the long downward curve of the agricultural depression, rising prices, and a wearisome burden of taxes have united to break down the ancient conservatism of the people of the land. Disturbed by cosmic forces they are only beginning to appraise, uprooted by alien influences they have hitherto always held suspiciously at bay, our great agrarian populations are striking blindly at shadows they can only dimly see and roaring defiance in answer to voices which may be nothing more than echoes.

The vast forces which today play upon agriculture affect all rural institutions. This is particularly true of those closest to the farmer, the institutions which anchor him to the land and those which give him an orientation in the presence of the unknown. It is no wonder, then, that he is disturbed when our historic system of land tenure is collapsing and when the church, which has in many ways been the determinant institution of rural culture, is losing its influence. The tendency of capitalism toward centralization of wealth is taking the ownership of land more and more out of the hands of the farmer. The slow rise of the tenant class to dominance in rural life is confronting every agency for betterment with baffling problems. None is more deeply affected than the church.

The "American dream" established as the foundation of this nation an agrarian population of free men whose independence was made certain by ownership of the land from which they se-

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cured their living. But for half a century we have been moving in the opposite direction. The American farmer is today well on the way to becoming a landless peasant. This startling fact is established beyond the possibility of dispute by the national figures on tenancy. From 1880 to 1930 tenancy had increased from 25.6 per cent of all farms to 42.4 per cent. These figures become more significant when it is remembered that many of those listed as "owners" remained such only through the sufferance of the banks or insurance companies which held the mortgages.

The effect of the depression upon the growth of tenancy can be guessed from the fact that almost 50 per cent of the half-century increase in tenancy between 1880 and 1930 occurred in the decade between 1890 and 1900. This decade included the last major depression which in its effects upon agriculture could be compared with the present one. If the gain registered during today's depression is proportionate, we shall awaken at the time of the next agricultural census in 1935 to discover that over 50 per cent of our farm population are tenants, and that a large proportion of the remaining owners wrestle with mortgages so heavy they take all reality out of ownership.

During 1932 one farm in 25 in the United States was lost to the owner through foreclosure, tax sale, or bankruptcy, and by 1933 the rate had increased to one farm in 20. The dwindling equities of tens of thousands of farmers were wiped out by a decline in farm values to the lowest point since reliable records were begun in 1912. Since farm income had fallen from twelve to five billions from 1929 to 1933 it was impossible for farmers to advance their status as owners by taking advantage of prices unprecedentedly low. Instead, in many states the debt-ridden tenant class had risen into the majority and demagogues were riding into political power on "soak-the-rich" and debt moratoria platforms.

The effect of this rise in tenancy upon the institutions of rural life may be shown by illustrations that are available concerning its effect on the rural church. Studies made in widely separated regions across America show a direct relationship between the

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decline in farm home ownership and the decline in the country and village church. Otis Durant Duncan of the Oklahoma Agricultural and Mechanical College recently reported an investigation of 855 farm families in Oklahoma. His conclusion, backed by convincing statistical evidence, was: "Whatever economic and social conditions facilitate a rise toward ownership also contribute toward an inclination toward at least a nominal membership in some church organization." This statement has the backing of numerous recent studies, including those of President Hoover's Commission on Social Trends.

Ten years ago F. A. Grissette was telling a world, not then awake to this problem, about certain counties in North Carolina in which farm tenancy was highest, and in which only one person in four held membership in any church. These counties he contrasted with others where tenancy was lowest and where three persons in four were church members. From the wide plains of the Middle West came the same story. In Kansas, where 40 per cent of the farmers were then tenants, only 26 per cent were regular attendants at church whereas nearby Missouri, where only 14 per cent of the farmers were then tenants, had 50 per cent in church. Evidence of this direct relationship between farm ownership and the welfare of the rural church has accumulated with every study made.

These observations with reference to the relationship between tenancy and church membership are borne out by the tenant's attitude toward other institutional expressions of rural life. The relation of tenancy to the school, to civic affairs, to such groups as lodges and character-building organizations is exactly the same as to the church.

Tenancy is a liability to the institutions of religion because the frequent removal of the tenant keeps him from getting his roots in very deeply anywhere. Throughout the South the cropper averages one removal to each two years. In other parts of the country the rapidity of tenancy removal is not as great but it is great enough to be a matter of profound concern. The tenant is not at home anywhere. He is restless. He knows few people.

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Because of his brief residence he is often not expected to attend church. Like others he lives up to what people expect him to do.

The second reason for the failure of the church and the tenant group to establish connections lies in the economic inability of the tenant to contribute to the church or to dress in such a manner that he feels at home when he goes there. It must not be forgotten that the tenant is at the bottom of that group which occupies the lowest rung on the financial ladder. Paul H. Douglas, in his study of real wages in the United States between 1890 and 1926, points out that whereas the yearly wages of manufacturing during that period were $1216, of construction $1664, of railroads $1680, and of lumber $982, the yearly wages for agriculture during that period averaged only $595 per year. In many places in the country the yearly income of tenants or croppers is only $250 or $300 and in the recent depression years it has often been less. The tenant feels himself unable on such an income to contribute to the church. He may or may not be stimulated in this reluctance by reflection upon the inexcusable overlapping of the inefficient and costly denominational structure which seeks to mediate religion to him.

The third difficulty which the tenant finds in establishing connection with the institutions of religion is a complex attitude which, however we dislike the term, can best be described as class feeling. The tenant is more at odds with the social order than is the landowner, and the landowner dominates the church. In his restlessness the tenant is beginning to question elements in the status quo. The employer and landowner often believe these elements should not be questioned. The attitude toward debts gives an example of the friction that ensues. The tenant is always in debt. Under conditions prevailing in agriculture he cannot pay. But when he goes to church he meets his creditor. The creditor may often seem to be unduly agitated about the debt. This agitation scarcely conduces to a calm and peaceful frame of mind in the tenant who seeks to worship. If it happens that the minister sides, as ministers have a weakness for doing, with the lender, and rubs salt on this tenant's wounds through pointed sermons

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on "honesty," the tenant discovers that he has no time for church.

There are many other reasons for tenancy's evil effect on the institutions of rural life. Tenancy strangles intellectual development. The tenant stays away from church or community assemblies because he is not interested and often not capable of being interested. Sometimes he stays away because he cannot read the hymns and does not want to be laughed at for holding the book upside down. Sometimes he stays away because he is forced to make ends meet by devious processes bordering on dishonesty. At other times he stays away because he resents dishonesty or hardness on the part of some elder or deacon of whom he is renting land. Furthermore, because he has not had the fellowship of schools and the community projects which the community uses to enlist cooperation, he is untrained in obtaining benefits from associations with his fellows.

The wide experience accumulated in recent years concerning the relationship between farm ownership and the rural church, gives added strength to the words of F. A. Grissette, who said, "The country church must in self-defense get busy with this problem of home and farm ownership. If the country church does not destroy farm tenancy, then farm tenancy will destroy the country church."[1]

Rural churches are doing little to meet the crisis in which they find themselves. This is significant. As demonstrated in Denmark and elsewhere, it is possible for the institutions of rural religion to supply a leadership which will revolutionize rural life. Nothing like this now appears on the horizon in America's life. In certain trends, however, we may discover a cloud now no larger than a man's hand.[2] Out of these may grow a new orientation. Long-time trends indicate the eventual disappearance of the open country church and the strengthening of the village church. The rural churches, like the other institutions of rural life, are increasingly centralized in the villages. Village churches in 1930 showed a larger proportion of farmer members than

[1] P. 107, *North Carolina Year-Book*. January 1, 1933.
[2] As noted in *Rural Social Trends* by Brunner and Kolb, 1933.

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ever before. With the perfection of methods of speedy transportation, village life may come to play as large a part in American agriculture as it does in Asia. At any rate the rural church problem is increasingly a village church problem. There is import, moreover, in the fact that rural churches are declining in numbers but increasing in membership. These figures as reported by the last census were small but they are significant. The increase in tenancy, however, registered itself by a decline from 35.3 to 32.5 in the percentage of the total population who hold membership in rural churches.

The most disheartening feature of the situation is the distressing poverty of leadership available to the rural church. In the 140 villages studied by Brunner and Kolb only 30 per cent of the Protestant clergy had college and professional training whereas 90 per cent of the Roman Catholic priests serving rural and village churches had this necessary equipment. No other factor is necessary to explain the rapid gain of the Catholic church among rural people in recent years. Inadequate leadership accounts for the static and unattractive program which rural churches offer their constituencies. Back of this lies competitive denominationalism, whose evils are as great as ever in the rural field. Rugged individualism in the field of religion has produced an excess of at least 85,000 feeble churches in the United States and a surplus of approximately 40,000 Protestant ministers. Recent investigations[1] indicate that a church must have about 350 members in order adequately to support a well-trained minister. Only 12 or 13 per cent of our Protestant churches, city or country, meet this demand. Nowhere, on a scale at all adequate, is the large-scale planning and cooperation required to overcome this situation in evidence among the national leadership of Protestantism. The most encouraging sign is that hundreds of communities are taking matters in their own hands and are developing an increasing cooperation through community and federated churches and community-centered programs of work.

Much of the discussion concerning the rural church centers

[1] Made by the Institute for Religious and Social Research.

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around the attempt to save the life of a dying institution. A great deal more is at stake than that. Justice Florence Allen of Ohio says: "From farm homes constantly pour forth into our national life the sanity, the character, the resourcefulness, without which America must inevitably die." Charles M. McConnell concurs. "The ruins of dead cities and decadent states bear deep witness to the truth that civilization neglects at its peril those springs of population that arise on lonely mountain sides and in isolated valleys and amid the prairie grass." The task of organized religion, therefore, is not only to save the rural church in order that it may live while rural life slips into decadence, but to save rural civilization itself.

First of all the church can help to meet this new situation, created by the growth of tenancy and the decadence of rural life, by creating a general awakening to the fact and the nature of the rural crisis. Today, 150 years after the beginning of the industrial revolution, we are witnessing the belated awakening of the conscience of Christianity with reference to industry. Too much of this discussion of the relationship between Christianity and industry leaves agriculture, the greatest industry of all, completely out of account, and pays no attention to the most basic of all population groups. This blind spot is particularly puzzling in the case of Protestantism, whose very roots are found among the people of the land. It can only be explained by the current obsession with urban problems and trends. They are so obstreperous that they dominate even the minds of rural folk.

In the second place the church must discover some drastic surgery which can eliminate denominational competition. Every recent study of rural life shows that this competition, while possibly less in intensity, is of the same kind as that which has been going on for a century. Its net result has been communities hopelessly divided against themselves. In a recent study of home missions blame is placed unequivocally upon the leadership of our denominations. "Denominational administrators are largely to blame for the situation that exists. Many do not know what is taking place, others do not care, while yet another group are still

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living in the nineteenth century and believe that success can only be achieved by building their own denominational program, without regard to the others."[1] This leadership was inadequate to meet old problems and certainly it is not even aware of the existence of new problems such as the growth of industrialized villages in agricultural communities and the current back-to-the-land movement.

Third, the church cannot meet this situation in agriculture unless it develops a deep concern for the economic status of rural people, and a program to help them to an improved status. It is high time the church explored the possibility of active leadership in the development of cooperatives and credit unions as adjuncts to rural church life. Here and there today one hears the status of the farmers of Denmark referred to with envy. These references often forget that Danish farmers were lifted from abject tenancy and poverty to a wholesome economic freedom in a brief half-century. Still less often does one discover the realization that this profound revolution from a state of universal tenancy to the present cooperative commonwealth was motivated and led by the religious leaders of that land. The land-starved and disinherited millions of America's rural life may well ask where among the too numerous body of our denominational bureaucracy can be found leaders like Bishop Grundvig, who furthered that cooperative movement in Denmark which has attracted so much attention. The economic rehabilitation of American rural life still waits for a religious leadership which will discover in the cooperative movement a method of practicing the brotherhood about which they have long been talking.

We must therefore train our rural ministry in something more than theology. The rural ministry is a highly specialized profession. There is not a single institution in America devoted exclusively to training men adequately for that specialty. The best advice one can now give to a young man interested in this field is that he get his theology where he can and the bulk of his training in colleges of agriculture. Some day we shall locate rural

[1] H. N. Morse, *Home Missions Today and Tomorrow*, p. 108. New York, 1934.

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ministerial training schools adjacent to first-class colleges of agriculture, for both religious and technical training are needed.

Finally, it is absolutely imperative that religious forces do some long range planning if we are to meet the mighty changes coming into rural life. The recent study of a typical Pennsylvania county shows that in that one locality there were over 400 civic and character-building organizations competing for the time, money, and services of the citizenry of that county. In addition there were over 200 churches, more than twice the number that the population required, extracting support from the county to the tune of $750,000 a year. On top of these 600 agencies there were lodges and secret societies without number. The only term adequate to describe this is social anarchy, and the only remedy for it is a vision of the good life as a whole for that county and an intelligent planning to produce that good life. "At the earliest possible moment there should be a nation-wide movement to relocate and rebuild the country churches. The mission boards have been very negligent in this respect. Much of this improved building program will wait and should wait until denominations get together in some cooperative plan to build one good church where several poor ones now exist."[1]

We have seen that the rural millions of this country are in the grip of an economic system which penalizes and discriminates against agriculture more than against any other major industry; that this unstable and unjust situation is producing a rapidly ascending curve of tenancy, which will probably mean that before the depression is over half of our farms will be operated by tenants. Experience has shown us that tenancy means that the problems of the rural church are increased as financial support falls and attendance and interest decrease. We believe that the situation is not hopeless, but that with a new leadership and a new objective the church can not only save itself but can save American civilization as it moves out of nineteenth century individualism and theological controversy into twentieth century brotherhood and cooperation.

[1] *Home Missions Today and Tomorrow*, p. 104.

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The New Heroine's Code for Virtue

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WHAT has happened to the heroine in the American novel? It is becoming increasingly difficult to recognize her by old standards. One used to be able to identify her by four things: youth, beauty, virtue, and the modest but earnest pursuit of a good husband. If additional data were needed she was the pink-aproned girl making cookies in the kitchen or the slender creature on the rose-bound veranda pretending to read as the village swain walked past the house with studied ease. Now the heroine need not be very young; indeed her average age is nearer thirty than eighteen. Beauty is still useful to her, but, being primarily a privilege of youth, it may be conveniently exchanged for charm, which is available at any age. The marriage certificate is still a desideratum but the lack of it is no insuperable bar to a happy heroine's life. Nor does the possession of it prevent her from continuing to be a heroine long after the old-fashioned novelist would have written finis. Domestic art for her is less likely to consist in knowing when to turn a roast than where to find the best recipes for mixing cocktails. But in no way does the new heroine differ from her young predecessor more radically than in her relationship to virtue.

Virtue in the American novel used to be a relatively simple and definite thing: any heroine knew when she had it and when she lost it. For an unmarried heroine it was her virginity; for a wife it was marital fidelity. It was therefore practically synonymous with chastity, and chastity was the sine qua non of a heroine. The letter of the law was clear—and inexorable. Circumstances had practically nothing to do with the matter, for despite much talk of men (wolves) who hunted girls (lambs) it was judged that the lamb could always escape the wolf if she really

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wanted to. If she did allow herself to be caught she was regarded as a "fallen woman" and the best thing she could then do was, in accordance with Goldsmith's maxim, to die—whether by a decline, or by leaping into the river, or by the physical consequences of her seduction was optional with the author. Failing to die she was generally forced into a "life of open shame" and was thus lost to the reader's view. In case her father was disposed to be kindly she was not evicted from her home but remanded to the garret, to be referred to no more except as a warning to young girls. One other compromise was possible: her seducer could "make an honest woman of her" by marrying her. But being made "honest" was by no means equivalent to being made virtuous, and virtue was assumed to be the finer flower. This was, generally speaking, the code within which a heroine was expected to move and have her being from the time of *The Power of Sympathy* and *Charlotte Temple* to within a few decades ago. It was a stern code, almost legal in its severity, but it was definite. A heroine was expected to be virtuous and being virtuous meant precisely one thing.

Matters are no longer so simple. It is no longer possible to assess the virtue of a heroine by the single standard of chastity. It is not that the new heroine utterly condemns the idea of chastity: she does not ask for repeal but for modification. She wishes to be judged (if at all) partly by her circumstances and her motives, for chastity, she believes, is an attribute quite as much of the mind as of the body. It may well be, she thinks, that she is essentially as virtuous as her circumspect Victorian predecessors who, though technically more chaste, were not necessarily more clean in spirit. Moreover, she wishes to be known and respected for collateral virtues: frankness, courage, good sportsmanship, tolerance, forgiveness, cheerfulness, constancy, love, honesty, sincerity. She wants to readjust the balance of a heroine's virtue so that less weight will be given to chastity as such and more to other good qualities, especially absolute frankness and sincerity in all dealings. Obviously the new standard she seeks is exceedingly difficult to establish without serious impairment of her

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credit. Not all heroines can create confidence so easily as the ex-prostitute in Robert Nathan's *One More Spring* who resumes her trade in order to buy aspirin and coffee for a sick comrade. No one thing, however, so distinguishes the heroine in the American novel of the past decade as her attempt, with the assistance of her author, to establish a new code for virtue.

Most of the basic elements in the new code are of course not new (being but signs of the independence-for-women movement which is almost as old as the race), but the process of deriving from them a workable formula for use in the American novel has occurred largely during the 1920's. To be sure, there were books in the Victorian age (to go back no further) which adumbrated the new freedom. In nucleus it can be seen even in so austere a book as *The Scarlet Letter*, in which Hawthorne lets Hester say to her "guilty" lover: "What we did had a consecration of its own." It can be seen more definitely formulated in Hardy's *Tess of the D'Urbervilles*, in which the heroine is described on the title-page as a "pure woman" despite the fact that she "lost her virtue" in the first hundred pages of the story. Another intimation of the new code, more closely linked with the past decade in American fiction, appeared in Dreiser's *Sister Carrie* (1901), which tried to show that a heroine need not be wholly condemned if under stress of economic pressure she feels impelled to part with her chastity. The early twentieth-century popular novel, however, reflected but little of this freedom: the old code very largely obtained, whereby a heroine kept her chastity or suffered the wages of sin. But in the era since the War new types of heroines have appeared who have bargained for a revision of the wages of sin. How much they have accomplished may best be understood by a glance at the status of the heroine a little over a decade ago.

The year 1920 yielded no popular novel in which the heroine flouted the old morality. Heroines still preserved their technical virtue. Carol Kennicott (in *Main Street*) for all her modern outlook and her solo excursion to Washington remained within the pale of the marital code. Lulu Bett's astonishing feat of get-

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ting married twice within six months at the age of thirty-eight implied no violence to the old ideas of modesty. Even with a continental background for her heroine Edith Wharton in *The Age of Innocence* did not allow Olenska to consummate an "unhallowed" love with Newland Archer. Sherwood Anderson, since become adept at recording illicit amorous adventure, kept his heroine technically sound in *Poor White*. Even Scott Fitzgerald, darling of the younger generation, thrilled his readers in 1920 by having his girls engage in conduct no more exciting than smoking, petting, drinking a little, and indulging in light, literary profanity. In 1920 *This Side of Paradise* was daring. Now, with respect to the new ethics, it seems obsolete.

Obviously something has happened to heroines since 1920. The old Puritan idea of adherence to the letter of the law of chastity has been attacked and a measure of new freedom has been won. The fight for the new freedom was begun in the early twenties with youngsters in the front rank—as shock troops. They had no articulate creed, but vaguely, intuitively, they knew what they wanted. They could experiment with less risk than their elders. Consequently the reading public soon became inured to flappers who revelled in rouge, danced cheek-to-cheek, smoked cigarettes and drank gin, sat in parked cars without chaperones, engaged frankly in petting and "necking," and talked Freud and sex appeal. These were the younger girls in the stories of Hergesheimer, Lewis, Dell, Atherton, Fitzgerald, and Marks. Their elders looked on, shocked but not greatly alarmed. After all the War had unsettled things. Even grave Victorian gentlemen begrudgingly admitted that these vulgar creatures were an offense more against manners than morals. Certainly the flapper did not regard herself as vicious.

After manners, then morals. Before long it was discovered that young ladies in actual life (many of them of "good family") were making history of the sort that Judge Lindsey recorded in *The Revolt of Modern Youth* (1925). The novel in the twenties was close to life—whether slightly ahead or behind cannot be determined. At all events heroines became freer. They

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parted with their virginity with greater ease and less remorse. Girls have of course "gone wrong" ever since they were told to go right, but the distinguishing feature of the heroine of the twenties is that often she went wrong without ceasing to think herself right. Circumstances and motives varied. Sometimes the break from convention occurred as a result of environmental hazard as in the very popular (if somewhat lurid) book *Bad Girl*. Sometimes, as in Frances Newman's *The Hard-Boiled Virgin* (1925), the heroine decided deliberately to lose her "virtue"—not of course to make money but to be rid of it, like adenoids. Virginity was hostile to the unfolding of a rich personality. As in olden days, heroines still gave themselves prenuptially to men who "betrayed" them, as in Ellen Glasgow's very fine novels *Barren Ground* and *They Stooped to Folly*. Again, especially in War novels, for example Hemingway's *A Farewell to Arms*, girls dispensed with the marriage ceremony without giving the matter much thought at all.

The fact of illicit love is never new. But the attitude of the persons concerned may change. In *The Hard-Boiled Virgin* the author wants us to believe that, despite her violation of convention, Katherine Faraday is a girl of sensitiveness and a certain idealism. The heroine of *Bad Girl* survives her indiscretion to become a happy wife and mother. Milly Burden, the impudent flapper-stenographer in *They Stooped to Folly*, is far less concerned over having lost her virtue and even having got a child than she is at the ultimate faithlessness of her lover. Criticism and unhappiness result, to be sure, but she is not hustled out of society (as Aunt Agatha was) with an offensive label. She resumes her position after her "trouble" is over, and her somewhat conservative employer later vouchsafes that she is a "good girl." It is a little hard to sympathize fully with the heroine who indulges so incessantly in liquor, cigarettes, and bad language as Catherine Barkley in *A Farewell to Arms* who lives with her lover unmarried until she dies in child-birth. Yet it is clear that although she is allowed an occasional twinge of something like conscience she is not intended by her author to be regarded as a

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depraved woman: her great love and constancy redeem her. Nor is her death to be regarded as a retribution for sin. So it is with many heroines of the twenties who violate the older idea of chastity. They part with their virtue but they do not necessarily take to the street or the garret or the river. They remain human beings with other problems. Their authors do not abandon them.

With married heroines, a much larger class than it used to be, the problem of emancipation from the strict or literal interpretation of chastity is a more delicate one. There is a second person to be considered, the husband, and there may be children. Yet here, too, there has been a change. The older formula which called for tragedy or complete ostracism or complete loss of self-respect as a consequence of a rupture of the marriage vow on the part of the wife has not been rejected, but it has, in a number of instances, been altered. In *Cytherea* the hero has an adulterous relationship but the woman concerned is not an adventuress; rather she is the (somewhat over-sexed) wife of a friend of the family. Annabel in *The Romantic Comedians* is clearly a young woman of good family. Yet after her untimely marriage with Judge Honeywell she runs away with a younger man without troubling to get a divorce first. She does not forfeit her self-respect. Fran Dodsworth contracts two illicit unions in the course of one book but she is represented by Sinclair Lewis as a woman of basic decency. Under peculiarly difficult circumstances the heroine of *The Sun Also Rises* engages in a number of adulterous relationships without the slightest compunction; but, although it is difficult to think of her as an attractive heroine, Hemingway tacitly bespeaks the reader's sympathy for her. Erskine's *Private Life of Helen of Troy*, despite its origin in ancient myth, constantly glances at modern conditions, and Helen's witty but sincere remarks touching extra-marital romance have undoubtedly formed one of the principal forces tending to break down the old code for married heroines. The theme of adultery is of course still a difficult one; few heroines can risk a violation of the marriage vow unless there is extreme provocation such as a brutal or permanently invalided husband or

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an insuperable bar to divorce. Nevertheless the vogue of *Dodsworth*, *Ann Vickers*, *Brook Evans*, *Cytherea*, *Ex-Wife*, *Pekin Picnic*, and *The Fountain* shows that somehow it has become possible for a cultivated heroine to contract an adulterous relationship without alienating the affections of all her readers.

The heroine has changed. The girl no longer worships virginity as such, and the married heroine has less respect for the sanctity of marriage as such. How has this come about? Christopher Morley merely opens the question when in *Thunder on the Left* he remarks, "The devil of it is, women have begun to think." What made them think? Many of the basic reasons for the revolt of the heroine lie deeply embedded in the history of the race. Centuries of child-bearing and domestic servitude fostered a sex-antagonism which has become completely articulate only in relatively recent years. The apparent Scriptural warrant for the domination of the male deferred any effective protest for centuries. But in more modern times woman began to resent not having been admitted to the parliaments which drew up moral codes for men and women: she had no hand in devising the restrictions which hampered her life unduly. She felt that she suffered taxation without representation. She revolted.

First of all, the heroine has objected to the masculine origin of the old code. The idea that a woman loses all when she loses her chastity was a male conception, and it was rendered doubly potent by its early union with religion, a man-controlled institution. When a woman slipped from virtue only a man could "make an honest woman of her." It was men who cleverly persuaded women to be the harshest critics of their erring sisters. These facts were doubtless dimly discerned long before the present era, but only in recent years has there been in the American novel a concerted effort to get anything like ethical parity for women. For that is what the matter resolves itself into: men granted themselves a liberal code of sexual ethics but they narrowly defined the sphere of woman's freedom. At present, emboldened by her approach to economic independence, the heroine plainly asserts that the "ruined woman is an invention of

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man." She openly objects to man's having given himself the better deal. Ellen Glasgow, an able champion of the new heroine, remarks of a certain somewhat loose character in *The Romantic Comedians* that she "indulged herself . . . in that branch of conduct which was familiar to the ancient moralists as nature in man and depravity in woman." Similarly she observes that Milly Burden, the defiant flapper in *They Stooped to Folly*, "treated the feminine sense of sin with the casual modern —or was it merely the casual masculine touch." In short the modern heroine realizes that the double standard was devised by men for the benefit of men.

The emancipated heroine dislikes not only the origin of the old code but also its component parts. Upon examining it she finds it to have been concocted chiefly of fear and duty. Annabel in *The Romantic Comedians* says of Cousin Amanda that "all her virtues are rooted in fear." In the past heroines, as well as women in the actual world, have been kept in step morally by fear—fear of violence on the part of husband or father, fear of poverty, fear of social ostracism, and even fear of the world hereafter. Then there has been that vague fear of life, perhaps attributable to poor circulation, which is so much discussed in modern psychology.

An allied element in the old formula was the sense of duty. Miss Glasgow, who is too wise not to present both sides of the question, has Mrs. Upchurch upbraid Annabel for her infidelity by saying that the young woman ought to have "sacrificed her feeling to duty, as women used to when we put religious principles before personal emotions." Milly Burden's mother believes that the affections can be stablized by the will: "That was her father's way. He would always pass over the persons who had a right to expect feeling from him and fling himself away on somebody without the shadow of a claim to his affection."

The passing of generations has been inimical to both fear and duty as moral agents. Physical fear went first—fear of the wrathful male. The likelihood of discovery has been tremendously lessened what with the increasing anonymity of city

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apartment life and the greater availability of the motor car. Fear of discovery through the biological consequences of a liaison has been greatly minimized by the increased control of contraceptives. The heroine of *Ex-Wife*, an exceedingly popular book of 1929, puts the matter bluntly: "Chastity went out when birth-control came in." Religion too has lost some of its restraining power. Despite the iterated assertion that the new science but reinforces true religion, the fact remains that the dissemination of popular knowledge concerning interstellar spaces and the amazing antics of the electron has somehow made it harder to believe in a cosy little Puritan hell. The way of the transgressor has become an improved road. As for the general fear of life which acts as a restraint upon many individuals, the modern heroine, armed with the new psychology, is proof against that too. Says Annabel: "So many women chain themselves to their own fears, and pretend they are being noble."

With fear fading what remains? Duty and loyalty, very slender bases for male security where love is concerned. The heroine has got around duty too. If duty is part of the egotistical male's fabric of protection and special privilege, why not discard it? The cry of the past decade has been to reduce the sense of duty toward husband and children in favor of recognizing one's duty to oneself, for one individual is as sacred as another. A personality is too precious to be cramped by convention or distorted by an antiquated marriage code. The disciples of Freud and Jung and Adler have tried to demonstrate that it is unwise to preserve virginity or marital fidelity at the expense of physical or mental health. In the light of their teaching, repression has become a vice; inhibition, the suicide of personality. An inadequate husband, psychiatrists have declared, is an abomination to the Lord of Personality. The inferences that the new heroine has drawn from this maze of premises are that one's main duty is to oneself and that the great sin is dulness. Fran Dodsworth has a husband endowed with many good qualities but he is dull; he stunts her life. He cannot give her the culture, the romance, the full expression of her libido which she finds with Israel, who

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has a "most delicate and sensitive mind." Consequently she feels no obligation to return to Dodsworth and resume the rôle of "dutiful, dull consort." After all, one is a human being even though a wife.

Fear and duty largely gone. Yes, but how could the heroine possibly engage in those new freedoms which have been regarded as sinful for so many generations? The answer is simple: by not feeling guilty. Convinced that it is "the sense of sin that makes the fallen woman" and that it is "impossible to ruin a woman so long as she is not aware of it" the heroine has set about banishing the sense of sin. Critics who are unfriendly toward the new heroine have agreed with Miss Genevieve Taggard's affirmation that the sense of sin has been removed "by a series of psychic alibis." Most of these of course have been arranged in Vienna: one of the loose ladies in *Ex-Wife* frankly refers to Freud as "that Great Excuse." Under the Viennese code, freely translated by the more advanced heroines, the obligation to develop oneself must be considered before the claims of parent, husband, children, or society. Other heroines, less given to scientific doctrine, are intuitively sure that honest love must take precedence over all man-made institutions. At all events the new heroines have not generally felt sinful. Naomi Kellogg in *Brook Evans* is beautifully sincere in saying that she "felt *good*, father," when she gave herself unmarried to Joe Copeland. Fran Dodsworth, product of a stern western environment, who would not have "believed it possible to be an 'erring wife,' " felt that "when it did happen, it all seemed so right, so natural and sweet. . . ." Brett, in *The Sun Also Rises*, the victim of a brutal marriage, has no scruples whatever about adultery as such. The heroine of *A Farewell to Arms* admits that for a few minutes on one occasion she "felt like a whore" but upon being assured by her lover that although not married to him she is a "lovely wife" she gaily tells him not to be "too technical" about their legal status.

Perhaps a principal reason why the modern liaison is undertaken with less trepidation than of old is that it is not often entered into desperately. The girl merely feels that her life is

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her own to spend as she wishes to. As for the wife, a noted British journalist has recently expressed the conviction that the greatest modern cause of adultery is pique. This may be an ill-founded opinion but it suggests the evident truth that adultery in the modern American novel is not conducted heroically. Most commonly the affair is carried on more or less casually, sometimes even experimentally, and the motive is not so much to escape an intolerable tyranny or to respond to a grand passion as to enrich one's life or even, God wot, to defer old age! The sense of sin in such a transaction may be removed by a reasoning process similar to that of Lee Randon in *Cytherea:* it was his "inner conviction —that, since he had given something not in [his wife's] possession, he had robbed her of nothing."

Not only has the new heroine to some extent removed the stigma of being "immoral" but she has reinforced her position by insisting that there are other virtues than "virtue." The most odious person in *Ex-Wife* is the girl Hilda who has "purity," to be sure, but who steals another girl's man, brandishes a fearful temper, is vindictive and hard to live with. When the heroine of the book, however, after a career of genteel promiscuity, tells the man she finally falls in love with that she has "slept with more men than [she] can remember" he does not break with her:

> You darling imbecile—I think you are the nicest person I have ever known. Whatever happened to you has made you poised and tolerant, and comprehending, and anyone who knows you should be grateful for whatever produced the result.

In a more realistic novel, *Barren Ground*, the heroine, Dorinda Oakley, indulges in no wordy theorizing, but her life after her "fall" is a beautiful exemplification of manifold virtue. Sometimes the theme of impaired chastity is treated with surface facetiousness but a degree of underlying seriousness as in *The Private Life of Helen of Troy*, in which Etoneous refers in Menelaus' presence to Helen's "infidelity" as a "comparatively excusable slip." Indeed Menelaus himself later mentions as the first virtue of all, reverence for one's parents, and, second, hos-

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pitality. Again, in even lighter vein, wit may be offered as a substitute for morality—as in *Gentlemen Prefer Blondes*. And only the stricter moralists would refuse to grant that the sins of Scarlet Sister Mary in Julia Peterkin's book are cancelled by her great loving kindness. Even the all but hopeless Brett in *The Sun Also Rises* makes a gesture toward nobility at the end of a sordid book by refusing to be such a "bitch" as to marry a man too young for her. The mature heroine of *Black Oxen* calmly confesses to having had many men in Europe, but the author clearly intends her sins to be negligible in comparison with her virtuous intention of going back to Austria to dedicate her life and her purse to destitute children there. Thus the cape of virtue has been turned inside out and new patterns have been discovered. And the cloth, it is implied, is as broad as ever.

Thus the heroine of the twenties. Without petition or picket she has enfranchised herself morally. Believing with Campaspe in *The Blind Bow-Boy* that in these matters it is idle to try to "fight the world" she has simply assumed what she conceived to be her rights. Nor has male opposition thwarted her seriously: after all, emancipation for the heroine means greater freedom for the hero. He likes her. Discovered as a stowaway she has proved to be a good comrade. Perhaps in time she will be invited to share in holding the controls.

The new code for virtue has not found acceptance everywhere. Many popular magazines still operate on older conventional lines. It is still possible, witness the enormous popularity of *As the Earth Turns*, to win readers for a homespun novel in which the heroine bakes cookies on the slightest provocation. Moreover there are many champions of the old code: it is impossible to lay mines under a sexual ethic extending back to Biblical times and beyond without mobilizing hostile forces. Nor has the partial adoption of the code occurred without bringing its train of abuses. It has hung new pictures in the gallery of pornography. It may be, too, that the recent exploitation of homosexuality is partly explicable on the grounds that the heroine's approach to a masculine code of ethics has had the effect of

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reducing her superficial feminine charm and so led readers to seek thrills in homosexual relationships. Possibly the hearty heroine is responsible for the vogue of the *gigolo*. Certainly the more hard-boiled among the modern heroines have contributed toward the bad manners which have characterized the younger generation during the past decade.

Nevertheless one cannot impugn the faith of a score of serious novelists who have adopted the new code. It is not necessary to endorse adultery or free love to grant that they have made progress toward emancipating the heroine from bondage to a system in which the letter of virtue was often extolled beyond virtue itself. Romain Rolland says somewhere that women too often cherish their chastity in the same spirit in which they guard polished floors. It is this unworthy interpretation of chastity which the new novelists have primarily sought to displace. It has no more validity than the narrow Calvinism of Jonathan Edwards' time when an ignoble preoccupation with saving one's soul too often passed for real religion. In *Silas Lapham* Howells complains of the excessive use of sentimental love as the principal theme in novels of the time. One of the evils of the era just closing has been an excessive emphasis on sex. Nevertheless in her effort to readjust the balance of virtues the new heroine has probably helped to allay the feverish interest in sex, first by provoking frank discussion of it, and second by insisting upon a reduction of its relative importance.

The heroine of the American novel, like her sister in actual life, has changed in many ways in the past ten or twelve years. The accomplishments of women in sport, adventure, exploration, industry, commerce, art, and politics have been promptly reflected in fiction. Yet the establishment of a new code for virtue remains one of the more notable achievements of the epoch. Perhaps the code was originated as an emergency post-War measure; but, however revised in the light of intelligent criticism, it bids fair to become a part of our ethical policy.

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Check-Money Control

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IN the Winter issue of THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Mr. Richard A. Lester raised three important monetary issues. All are comprised within a single sentence. "Since fractional reserves permit the 15,000 some odd banks in this country to expand and contract bank money without regard to Federal monetary policies, our money can never be successfully managed until all our banks are required to maintain full reserves." Three categorical opinions are implied in this sentence:

1. That the volume of bank-money (i.e. demand deposits) expands and contracts at the will of the 15,000 commercial banks.

2. That Federal monetary policy does not control the expansion and contraction of bank money.

3. That such control can only be attained through the requirement of 100 per cent bank reserves.

The present writer would take issue with those statements equally categorically and affirm:

1. That the present organization of the Federal Reserve System provides an effective mechanism for the control of the expansion and contraction of bank money.

2. That this mechanism is as adequate in giving effect to Federal monetary policy as a scheme of 100 per cent reserves would be.

3. That the 15,000 bankers in the country are, generally speaking, hardly more than intermediaries between Federal monetary policy on the one hand and the limitations of our economy on the other. That they exert an influence is true, because of the

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play of individual judgment; but this influence is not and cannot be ultimately decisive.

To pass beyond these questions to the greater question of whether either the present mechanisms, or other purely quantitative mechanisms, could make the "President's 'dollar dreams' " "come true" (to quote Mr. Lester) is beyond the limit of the present discussion.

First of all, for the benefit of readers who are unfamiliar with the quaint terminology of finance it should be explained that bank reserves are not reserves at all. In ordinary English a bank reserve might be expected to be something used in time of emergency—as for example a run on a bank. In fact, it is nothing of the kind. Oddly enough, even such actual currency as a member bank of the Federal Reserve System holds in its vaults or behind its paying tellers' windows is not legally counted as reserve cash at all. Its sole legal reserve is the deposit which it carries at its Reserve Bank. The Reserve Banks at all times know the amount of these reserves. Indeed in New York City they are followed hourly. Under the Reserve System, member banks are required to keep on deposit at all times at their respective Reserve Banks an amount equal to 3 per cent of their time deposits, and 13, 10, and 7 per cent of their demand deposits, depending on the size of the city. These are termed fractional reserves. Mr. Lester says there is "no good reason" for such differentials of reserves as between localities. On the contrary, there is an excellent reason. Banks in small cities habitually carry relatively large clearing deposits in banks in large cities; prior to the Reserve System such balances were classed as reserves. Among non-member banks they still are. The Reserve Act took cognizance of this practice and although it does not legally recognize such correspondent balances as reserves it does not require the small city banks to immobilize in non-earning form both a stated reserve balance (with the Reserve Bank) and a clearing balance with a big-city bank. The fact of differential reserves is, however, in no way germane to the topic of discussion, which is that of fractional reserves.

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The first important fact is that a member bank must make its demand deposits conform to its minimum reserve. If it is a bank in New York its deposits cannot be more than 7.9 times its deposit with the Reserve Bank; in smaller metropolitan cities 10 times, and in still smaller 14.3 times its reserves. If it has "excess reserves" it is able to expand its credits and is impelled to do so by a desire to increase its earnings. On the other hand the moment these multiples are exceeded the bank must either reduce its credits or increase its reserves.

But—and this is the feature of control—nothing that a member bank can do, of its own volition, can increase or decrease the reserves of the whole system, unless the Reserve Banks permit. The Reserve Banks, through a variety of expedients, of which the most notable are the use of "open market operations" and of the discount rate, can maintain the total reserves of the member banks at any given figure or raise or lower them to any given figure. This control over the aggregate of member bank reserves is absolute; even under the gold standard when, if the positions of the foreign exchange permit, bank reserves may be augmented by gold imports, the actual increase is subject to control. And, by this control of the aggregate of bank reserves, the Reserve System, subject to one qualification, can control the aggregate of deposits. The reserves are fractional but the deposits are, for each bank, a constant function of the fixed reserve fractions, and currency is excluded from the legal reserve in order to make this criterion of control visible. It is obvious that if the deposits of the member banks are a function of X times its reserve, and the reserve is subject to absolute control, the deposits likewise are subject to control; and it does not matter in the slightest degree whether X is a regionally variable multiple or a uniform figure of 100 per cent.

In short, the function of commercial banking is not to determine the amount of "money" in the country but to give it "velocity" of turnover. The simplest example of this function will show the principle. An individual, wishing to save, might accumulate a tin box full of Federal Reserve notes and "deposit"

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it under his garage. This "money" would be statistically "in circulation" but economically it would be totally inert. Let us suppose he deposits this currency in a bank, which immediately lends the identical currency to a contractor, borrowing against his contract, who disburses it in a payroll and thus puts it in active circulation. The individual has gained his objective, which was to save, and the bank has performed its function, which was to keep money moving from those who do not need its *use* to those who do. Obviously the original currency was created by the Federal Reserve System. But let us suppose that the banker, having received this deposit of currency, was unable to find a contractor with a contract to borrow against. He would then, in turn, deposit the currency with his Reserve Bank, thus producing what is called excess reserves. The Reserve System then would be accused of ineffective control, since it regulates the total amount of reserves by what it conceives to be the requirements of its policy; and the banker would be accused of failing to give velocity to money since he did not put it into active use. The real blame, of course, falls on the luckless contractor who, according to the rules of the game, should have stepped forward with his contract—and who at the critical moment failed to turn up. That is, the Reserve Banks can control the quantity of money and the member bankers can give it its customary velocity of turnover providing the general economy is in smooth working order. But when there is sand in the gear-box there is sand in the gear-box; and other forces than those related merely to the quantity of money are involved.

As was said above, the control exercised by the Reserve System is subject to this major limitation, which would obtain under the 100 per cent reserve requirement as well as under the fractional reserve requirement. While the Reserve System can make credit available it cannot compel the community to use credit in excess of the demands of its economy; nor can it compel the possessors of money (whether that money is currency or a bank deposit) to spend that money except as their collective judgment, good or bad, may dictate. At the present time the Member Banks pos-

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sess approximately double the reserves required by the sum of their deposits, although the net demand deposits of the Reporting Member Banks are now above the figure reported in September 1929. On the present reserves these deposits could be doubled; and in providing such reserves it is to be supposed that the Reserve System wished to evoke a greater expansion of credit than has actually occurred. In other words, control of reserves is not in this instance tantamount to a control of the deposit money.

The reason for this unused accumulation does not lie in the control—which would be no more effective under 100 per cent reserves—but in the facts of the economy. Every banker likes to make money, and to make maximum profits he must use his reserves to the maximum. The hard fact is that our economy would not support the additional bank debt as rapidly as reserves could be created—that is, it could not earn a profit on a large additional investment of borrowed money. Any one who knows bankers knows that they have been for months eager to make sound loans—that is, loans mutually advantageous to borrower and lender. Of course, they have declined plenty of opportunities to lend to those who, having lost their own money, would be willing to gamble with that of other people. But, on the whole, an expansion of about 20 per cent in the demand deposits and of 10 per cent in loans and investments in the past year was noteworthy for so uninspiring a twelve-month as 1934. Indeed, few years in American history have ever shown so great an expansion of bank credit. The question of whether or not this expansion was itself economically desirable is beside the point—the point being that , under the present system of fractional reserves, the control of the Reserve System over the aggregate of deposit money is absolute, within the limits of our economy; and that even a system of 100 per cent reserves would be subject to the same limitations, although they would express themselves in a different statistical form.

The hard fact is that although check-money is within striking distance of its 1929 quantity, and actual currency in the

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hands of the public is far greater than in 1929, the velocity of turnover of this money is very low. Indeed, in some of the months of the past year, the rate of turnover on checking accounts (the so-called "debit" statistics) was below 70 per cent of computed normal. In other words, the fault (if one wishes to employ the terminology of ethics) did not lie in the defects of the control of the quantitative mechanism; nor, so far as the writer can see, would it have been greatly different if another mechanism, such as the 100 per cent reserve plan, had been in force.

The argument regarding control does not, however, answer the argument for safety of the depositors' money. It is argued that if banks were obliged to maintain in their vaults a dollar of currency for every dollar of demand deposits the depositors would at all times be perfectly secure. The banks which made the loan would under this system sell the paper to or rediscount it with the Reserve Banks, receiving currency in return. This presupposes one thing, that every credit instrument in the bank, represented by the demand deposits, be of a type or quality acceptable to the Reserve Bank. But, as far as the depositor is concerned, it is of no importance whatever that the bank have in its vaults actual currency for his deposit so long as it can provide itself with currency if and when he wants it. That is, it is immaterial to the depositor that the bank shall actually have converted its assets into currency (as provided by the 100 per cent reserve plan), provided those assets can be converted into currency if such currency is wanted. With a solvent bank, under the present legislation, this is precisely the condition that obtains. It is difficult to see how the introduction of the 100 per cent reserve plan would improve the status of the depositor, although it would immensely and futilely increase the clerical work of the Reserve Banks and complicate and lengthen the process of making loans.

But a proportion of every bank's loans and investments "go bad." If the bank is badly managed the proportion is large. These losses must be supported by some one. Under the recent theory they were borne by the bank's owners; if still larger, the depositor lost. Now, under the deposit guarantee, the losses of

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incompetent bankers are charged against the competent bankers. This situation would not be changed by the 100 per cent plan. It is not to be supposed that the Reserve Banks would support out of their own capital the losses of all the imprudent bankers of the country. If the paper discounted with them or sold to them "went bad" they would seek recourse from the initiating bank, and if the bank's owners could not support the loss the Reserve Banks would possess a lien superior to that of the depositors, although it is true that the penalty might be thrown entirely upon the time depositors unless guarantee legislation shifted the liability—in which case we should again be back to the status quo.

In so brief an article it is not possible to discuss in detail all the variants of the 100 per cent plan. Indeed it is inaccurate to speak of "the" 100 per cent plan since there are several, rather widely at variance with one another. In the writer's opinion, however, all have in common certain elements which may be enumerated as follows:

1. An emphasis upon the quantitative factors of monetary policy almost to the exclusion of the qualitative factors; and a general tendency to minimize non-monetary forces in our economy.

2. A failure to understand the function of the commercial banker as an active element of an entrepreneurial economy. The banker has his opportunities and his limitations and in much current discussion these limitations are ignored.

3. A tendency to impute to the distinction between time deposits and demand deposits a difference which, in the writer's opinion, is quite hypothetical.

4. A tendency to underestimate the efficiency of the actual mechanism of our present organization, by reason of real or imputed defects in the functioning of that mechanism.

Few will dispute the basic premises of the 100 per cent reserve plan. Its first premise is that, with the discarding of the automatic features of the gold standard, a Federal body must assume responsibility for and control of the total volume of bank-money in this country. It is the writer's contention that the

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present control is adequate within the limits of our economy and that the 100 per cent reserve plan would not make this control more effective—indeed by multiplying complex detail, red tape, and paper work, it might make it less effective. The second objective of the plan is the safety of the deposit—i.e. the assimilation of the bank deposit to legal tender currency. In the case of solvent banks this is now a fact and the introduction of the 100 per cent reserve scheme would not make it more or less a fact. In the case of bank losses there is a fact of loss, and the introduction of the 100 per cent reserve plan would not alter that fact; if the losses exceeded the bank's capital they would fall either upon the depositors of the specific bank or upon the community in some representative form.

The argument is not that our present control represents a monetary ideal or that the provision for the safety of deposits is precisely what an economist would wish. The argument goes no further than to assert that the introduction of the 100 per cent reserve plan would in no material way implement the present mechanism of quantitative control or enhance the safety of the depositor's status.

Origins of Beauty

ETHEL ROMIG FULLER

THE origins of beauty are in mountains.

Color, and color words. . . .
When man first beheld new snow on a pinnacle, he shouted,
white.
At the prescience of dawn on new snow, his tongue knew

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rose and *primrose*, *lilac*, *lavender;* at day's aftermath, he
slowly articulated, *carmine*, *saffron*, *purple*.
He peered into a crevasse—*green*, he shivered.
He watched dusk steal from a canyon, and murmured, *blue*. . . .

And when man had named the colors, he learned the futility of
words. For who may compress in syllabic dimensions, an
unearthly substance scintillating with all color; illumined
with pristine pastels; irradiated with glory?
Who may name a spirit that walks at twilight? Mystery
emanating from the translucence of age-old ice?

The beginnings of all water are in mountains.
Runnels trickle from glaciers—rivers frozen before man
walked as a tree walks, head uplifted to the sun.
Where two rivulets become a brook, an ocean is conceived.
The frustrated ebb and flow of tides is but nostalgia for the
tranquility of mountain heights; the brine of the sea,
condensation of tears; spindrift, a salty substitute for the
clouds which blow across the ceiling of the universe.
Only the sun, in pity, may return sea water
to its fountain-head.
Snow on a mountain is the sea come home. . . .

Mountain water made music before man's throat
knew gutturals. . . .
It sings a paean of creation.
Any listening to mountain water, shall hear his
own heart talking.

Mountain water . . . mountain wind. . . .
An ancient line of lute-players, the winds who strum the
frayed strings of upland pines.

From a pinnacled rostrum a Master wielding a baton of lightning
conducts the superb orchestration of a thunder storm. . . .

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The essence of mountain air is yet to be stoppled in a vial.
It is attar of unsullied dew and of frost; of the rosin
tang of living conifers; of the forest dead; of snow
lingering in canyons and of lilies born of snow; of blue
anemones, scarlet paintbrush, valerian, twin-flowers.
Summer distills the perfume, and a waterfall sprays it on
fern lace.
Winter stores it against another summer. . . .

In mountains is the epitome of rhythm.
Trunk to tail, ranges undulate across continents. Their footprints
are craters. Civilizations crumple
before their advance. . . .
From a vacuum of past aeons their trumpeting is projected
into infinity. Compared to the trek of mountains the resurgence
of tides is puerile.
Waves break futilely at the base of cliffs;
white peaks crash among the planets. . . .
The tumult of the sea is interrogation; the silence of mountains
an answer to every question.

The forever of time is in mountains. . . .
Mountains are rooted in the top-soil of creation. In them
is a germ of eternity.

The seasons swing on an untiring pendulum—a brief flowering,
a long cold; a song; a stillness. Unrest begetting peace;
peace begotten of divine unrest.

From the cauldron seething at earth's core, molten gold
pours into a mountain's veins.
Its lure through the centuries has been a Siren and a Nemesis.
Soul-poverty is the reward of one who prospects for gold alone.
The possessor of a nugget of Fool's Gold may be rich beyond
the power of saying.
True wealth of mountains lies in lodes of beauty.

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Origins of Beauty

A mountain is a Gargantuan mosaic.
From multiplicity of lovely minutiae—the flash of humming-
birds'
wings; bevies of orange-hued butterflies;
the ineffable green of lakes; silver firs;
fungus like white coral; meadows of monkshood;
salmon berries;
avalanche lilies; rain crystals cupped in lupin leaves;
snow in the shadows of boulders; glacial streams . . . it attains
sublimity of perfection.
A study of the pattern reveals the humanism of a mountain;
contemplation of totality, its Godship. . . .

Whatever man asks of a mountain, that he receives
in overflowing measure—bodily strength; the gift of poesy;
colors for a palette, and masterpieces to emulate;
stone for carving dreams . . . and the dream;
wisdom, power, truth . . . beauty . . . peace. . . .
Only the too-arrogant find death in a mountain. Ultimate
beauty must be approached on the knees of the soul.
Who gazes with the naked eye on the white transfiguration
of a mountain,
is of a sudden stricken blind. . . .

Youth dwelling among mountains, pride pitted against their
sparkling challenge, eyes uplifted from childhood
to sky-reaching peaks, attains stalwartness of limb,
clarity of vision, a lofty soul-stature.
Age, thinking on mountains, foresees immortality.

Christ went alone into a mountain, and prayed. . . .

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Dare the Teacher Breathe?

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THAT public education occupies a strategic position in any sound plan of social readjustment is clearly recognized by most intelligent and thoughtful persons. That the need for efficient public instruction is today probably more vital than in any other period of our national history can scarcely be questioned. Yet there are thousands of communities, usually villages and country districts, in which the increasingly important place of education is not understood. In such communities there exist peculiar, old-fashioned attitudes which give rise to influences that exert an exceptionally harmful effect upon education and this is the more true because these malign forces strike at the *sine qua non* of adequate school instruction—efficient teachers.

There is, for example, in a large number of backward rural centers a crushing indifference toward the work of the teacher. Good work and bad go equally unnoticed. Let the teacher strive as she will, honestly, conscientiously; let her perform almost a miracle in transforming pitiful repressed beings into joyous, alert, interested boys and girls, and she often finds she is not accorded the recognition and appreciation given the nearby farmer who has raised a ton litter of hogs. The most excellent of teachers cannot long maintain enthusiasm in such an atmosphere.

Furthermore, as weighed in the mental balance of the comparative worth of men and women, teachers as a class are held not to amount to very much, one reason for this being that in the hinterland even more than in the metropolis the possession of wealth is the great measure of success. Another reason lies in ignorance of the meaning and nature of education. It is undoubtedly true, also, that the personality, character, and ability of many a rural or village teacher is such that her stature is

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actually unimpressive by any measure. But that is a result, not a cause. These derogatory attitudes, moreover, are not found solely in the lesser communities. A few years ago a state supreme court judge wrote into a formal decision of his tribunal his conviction that, ". . . few persons are so stupid as to make teaching a life business. . . ." The judge, a doddering old man with tobacco in his beard and gravy on his vest (I am an eye witness to both), expresses a widely entertained opinion. The old man was probably right as to the welfare of an individual prospective teacher but he lets society down badly.

In a few communities these deplorable attitudes are so intensified that teachers are almost regarded as parasites. Residents in such communities scarcely deign to speak to their teachers—not out of anger; the teachers are merely ignored. Anyone acquainted with the conditions of rural and village education can cite instances of all sorts indicating utter disregard for the teacher, her comfort, or work. Two, whom I know very well, intelligent young women, sensitive, members of respectable homes, went into a rural community to teach in a country consolidated school. Although they were expected to do their own housekeeping in the schoolhouse no arrangements had been made to provide them with fuel, water, light, or food. Left severely alone from Saturday until the following Monday these two young women rather poetically began the year with a fast—a year which proved to be a procession of such insults. It is quite common in certain sections for a rural teacher to discover upon arriving that no accommodations have been planned for her, that she is not wanted in local homes, and that no one proposes to interest himself sufficiently to do anything about it. In such instances teachers lodge in towns sometimes miles distant and commute by car or horse as the weather dictates. One woman of my personal acquaintance rode horseback twelve miles each day through a series of blizzards of varying intensity for nearly two weeks in temperatures of thirty below zero and under.

No survey of the salary situation as regards the rural teacher can be undertaken here but it must be noted that in the notorious

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unwillingness of many communities to pay for educational service lies one of the strongest evidences of a fundamental misconception of education. People in such communities are not unaware that they will get what they pay for but they would rather do with poor teachers than pay for good ones. And of course salary conditions, always bad, have been greatly aggravated by drastic retrenchments. In two rural districts recently, for example, school boards advertised for teachers on bid, agreeing to take the lowest bidder, and hired two shameless persons who offered their presence for the statutory minimum of $45 per month. The farmers who entrusted the minds of their children to these persons would not entrust a sick horse to a veterinarian selected in the same way. They, however, saw nothing absurd in the situation; were, in fact, inclined to be rather boastful of their bright idea. Through atrocious salaries the process of filling our schools with an amazing array of incompetents proceeds with great efficiency.

Private affairs of school teachers form one of the main conversational stays of village gossips. Since local bones have long since been clean-picked by these harpies they joyously pounce upon the fresh supply served annually by the school teachers. Some of this talk is innocuous chit-chat, some of it most pernicious slander. The possible untruth of stories is not often allowed to temper the joy of their re-telling. These ghouls sit together in circles and jabber gleefully over the carcass of some young woman's reputation. To them nothing is too delicate for public dissection, nothing sacred. Many are the sensitive souls they have seared but against them the law offers little practicable protection. Viewed in this light it is not surprising that gossip constitutes a virulent force tending to drive good teachers from the work.

One of the most important conclusions I have come to upon recently completing an analysis of almost 2500 court decisions on public school teachers' contractual relations with boards of education is that to an alarming extent the administrators of our common schools regard a teaching position as a favor to be

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granted. Selection, supervision, and dismissal of teachers involve almost solely the board and the teacher while the fact that there are children to be taught and that effectiveness of instruction should govern the whole procedure are factors often finding little or no place in the picture. Such boards are not purchasing the best available professional service; they are granting a temporary pension as a royal favor. From this point of view proceeds a whole train of powerful evil forces. To a great number of school boards, and not only rural ones, teachers are pawns to be moved about or discarded at will. The law gives to school boards a very real and a very extensive, arbitrary power in the employment of teachers—one applicant may be elected and another rejected for any or no reason. Curious considerations operate. Photographs, for instance, often decide the whole matter. Board members scan each likeness with an appraising eye and select whoever most pleases their fancy. I know a clerk of a board, a railway agent, to whom each year the whole job is delegated. He always sends contracts to "the best lookers" and is quite serious in his defense of the efficacy of his plan. On the other hand a mild degree of ugliness is sometimes considered best. Considerations such as religious belief, nationality, kinship to board members, ability to play musical instruments, and domestic status—singleness or marriage—weigh strongly. Sometimes boards do not trouble themselves to ascertain whether candidates hold certificates. I know of a man who taught a term on a hunting license. When the directors, not being able to read, had asked, "Have you got papers?" what he had showed them looked legal enough—besides, the applicant was a "nice fella." Nepotism also operates strongly in defiance of law and in total disregard of the qualifications of competing candidates.

With regard to dismissals the situation is a prolific source of vexation. In the discharge of teachers, boards of education are given broad powers. Most of the statutory causes of dismissal, such as flagrant immorality, continued neglect of duty, and incompetence are, of course, proper, but in many states great gateways to abuse are opened by statutes such as those that allow dis-

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missal of teachers "when in the opinion of the board the retention of the teacher is no longer to the best interests of the school." "Any good cause" is such a one. "Violation of the contract" is another, for under that clause almost any puerile requirement may be given legal force. A pernicious custom, the inclusion in contracts of a clause providing for their termination upon a thirty-day notice, is becoming wide-spread. Under such clauses teachers have little more tenure or protection than farm hands—become in fact laborers by the month.

In practise the school board's power of dismissal is often greatly extended beyond statutory permit. Whereas legally the dismissal of a teacher should be preceded by notice, statement of charges, and a fair hearing, many rural school boards are quite unaware of these requirements. When they desire to dispense with a teacher she is abruptly asked to resign and in such a situation the harassed teacher, although she may be aware there is a possible legal recourse, usually decides it is not worth the struggle and wearily complies.

Recently in two mid-western states a new note in persecution was struck. Two teachers fell ill and in both instances individual board members promised that substitutes would be employed until the teachers returned but in both cases the promises were abrogated and permanent teachers employed. The cases went to the supreme courts in both states and in both decisions were rendered against the unfortunate teachers, resulting in the promulgation of rules of law which promise to be widely followed. One decision holds that since a teacher's contract is for personal services, failure to perform any material part of it, for any reason, regardless of circumstance, automatically deprives the teacher of all contractual rights. The five weeks this teacher was ill were formally held to do just that. The second decision is still more harsh for it holds that the day a teacher is forced to cease teaching her contract automatically expires. "All her rights under her contract," said the court, "ceased and determined when she quit her employment. She no longer had a contract, and as a matter of course is not entitled to recover. . . ." What more powerful

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warning to avoid educational work could there be to a young man or woman of foresight than the knowledge that illness, even temporary, is a misfortune that will automatically precipitate another misfortune—the loss of employment when it will be most needed? A private employer who, as a matter of policy, would take such a harsh course would incur the condemnation of most ethical business men.

But this is not all, for teachers' contracts under the laws and customs of most states expire at the end of nine months, thus annually throwing out of employment the army of common school teachers almost *en masse*. A state with any form of a permanent tenure arrangement is an exception. Each spring in thousands of school districts the annual farce of teacher reelection is enacted, teachers are measured by the standard of each community's special brand of prejudice, and are reappointed or rejected in accordance therewith. Miss A. is retained; she is so colorless that no one has been stirred for or against her. Mrs. B. is dropped, of course; she is an excellent teacher but has married during the school term and can consider herself fortunate that she was not dismissed immediately. Mr. C. is not reappointed; he has expressed himself in favor of joining the League of Nations and two of the board members are violent nationalists. Miss D. has been a live wire in her town, is well-liked in certain quarters, especially among the young people, but there has been talk about her—no definite charges, to be sure, but talk, nevertheless—and the board deems it best to slide her quietly out. No explanations need be made to any one. Often teachers are lucky if they discover their fate at all in time to look elsewhere for employment. And it can well be reiterated that in thousands of cases of failure of re-employment today real tragedy is bound up, for new positions are almost impossible to obtain. Particularly ugly is the situation for those teachers who have families to support. That system is certainly a pernicious one which will allow two or three men, often ignorant, with an imperious nod to condemn, with no shadow of cause, a public servant and his family to the heartbreak of unemployment.

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In the power of local school boards to make rules and regulations governing not only professional matters but also the private lives of teachers lies perhaps the most potent source of exasperation. Whereas the law restricts these boards to reasonable regulations, and reasonableness is tested by the absence of malice or caprice, the courts leave the question of advisability wholly to local officers. Very few rules and regulations, furthermore, are ever legally tested. There appears, consequently, upon the school board minute books of the country a most astonishing assortment of restrictions and requirements. Perhaps most of them are well considered and sensible; many, however, are the result of the wildest notions, the most absurd precipitations of ignorance imaginable. A few years ago rules prohibiting bobbed hair were common, as were those dictating the minimum number of inches between the floor and the hem of a teacher's skirt. Similar were the regulations regarding the height of heels, the degree of transparency of dress materials, and the authenticity of complexions. Lipstick is in places still taboo, as is the cigarette—the latter ban operative as well against men as women. Sometimes rules are promulgated, or clauses actually incorporated into contracts, designating boarding and rooming places for teachers, the purpose of this being a parceling out of the meager patronage of the teacher among the members of the school board or their friends. Somewhat in the same vein are rules to the effect that teachers must spend week-ends in the community, such rules usually governing village teachers since local merchants do not want teachers' funds to be spent in nearby cities. Many teachers are expected or actually required to teach in the local Sunday schools—as though they do not need respite after a week of full days of instructing. Other regulations probe yet deeper into the sensitive tissue of personal lives. One of the most common of these, the previously mentioned ban on the marriage of female instructors, is reminiscent of the situation of the medieval serf who could not marry without the consent of the feudal lord. Prohibition of dancing is not uncommon, sometimes enjoined on week-day nights, sometimes altogether. I have even known promulga-

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tions going to the length of regulating the teachers' evening hours—specifying, for example, that teachers are expected to be in their rooming houses after ten-thirty! Still other rules prohibit courting or presume to govern it in various ways.

The justification usually offered for these absurdities is that without them the teacher will be unfit to do her work. That these school boards already have the unquestioned power to dismiss teachers for incompetency or continued neglect of duty, without regard to cause, does not seem to occur to them. Perhaps they do not want it to occur: it's lots of fun to order people about—so stimulating to self-esteem.

To such or similar regulations the law gives the force of contractual obligations. Indeed, all valid rules and regulations are by legal theory actually a part of each teacher's contract, which often means that teachers do not know and cannot find out to what they have agreed; for regulations, including many of whose existence contemporary board members know nothing, run far back through the school board records.

But not all restrictions arise from rules, regulations, and contractual stipulations. Each small community has a peculiar set of iron-bound customs which bind local teachers quite as firmly as the more formal requirements. Teachers, circumscribed by these unwritten commandments, must be properly respectful of local big-wigs and discreet in their utterances upon controversial subjects—especially of a religious and political nature. They must not, directly or indirectly, interest themselves in commercial enterprises or show too evident signs of material prosperity (were it possible), particularly in the matter of clothes and automobiles. Teachers must not make the mistake, either, of assuming that these commandments, which are almost numberless and govern all phases of the teacher's life and conduct, have no teeth. Those who too openly flout them may as well begin early to look elsewhere for the next season's employment.

It is not strange in view of the array of malign influences bearing upon the teachers of the common schools of America to find that public education is carried on by a constantly shifting

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army of ill-prepared, un-professional youngsters. We must not wonder when surveys show thousands of these teachers to be girls of eighteen to twenty or that relatively few exceed twenty-five years of age. We must not be astonished to discover, as careful investigations have shown, that the average professional life of a public school teacher is between three and four years; that one extensive study showed that 48 per cent of the teachers in one large state left the work at the end of the first year, 65 per cent by the end of the second!

But though the plight of the public school teacher is atrocious we are not here primarily interested in her or even in the individual child who is victimized by the system. The tremendously important fact is the effect of this situation upon society, its very real threat to the maintenance and proper development of our civilization. In this age when wide-spread and imperative readjustments call for an enlightened people, powerful forces surely and swiftly deprive education of the best ability, leaving as the mind builders of America girls who make teaching an interlude between school and marriage, young men who regard a year or two of it as an evil to be tolerated only as a means to something else, harassed adolescents, and disappointed spinsters. Hundreds of thousands of our population receive their training for life in the complex world of the future at such hands as these. What of the product in view of the character of the workmen? In this day of great perplexities, no greater problem than this exists.

"Jerusalem was destroyed," says the Talmud, "because her teachers were not respected." Well might we heed that warning!

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A Stern'st Goodnight to Shakspere?

A Study of Recent Books

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MORE than one fatal bellman of criticism has in recent years given the sterns't goodnight to Shakspere—announcing that only snobbery keeps his plays in the theater and that in the library he lives really only for the antiquarian. Be that as it may, the discovery of a [spurious] portrait of the dramatist near Cork or of a complaint sworn against him for a threatened breach of the peace is still good for the front page in the daily paper or a leading article in a popular magazine. Writers of detective stories find profit in plots turning about newly retrieved and subsequently lost mss. of his plays, stolen quartos, and clues to hoarded jewels hidden in pentameters picked out of Bartlett's *Concordance*. In books and learned periodicals controversy still rages—has shown, in fact, a new violence and curiosity in the last decade. Consequently the general reader is now more than usually aware of Shakspere, though the awareness may chiefly consist in a sense of unsettling doubt or dismay.

The general reader who sets out to resolve his doubts immediately discovers that writing about Shakspere is now highly specialized and often highly technical. But though some of it is dull, some obviously preposterous, and some misleads by the plausible presentation of extreme views, most current books in the field have an intrinsic interest and value. A fair sampling of those published during a single year or so will give a pretty good notion of the present direction and scope of scholarly and critical

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activity, and should provide some suggestions at least for a modern aesthetic. A summary of such a sampling is attempted here.[1]

Perhaps the meatiest of recent factual surveys in the field of Shaksperian studies is *A Short Life of Shakespeare* (Oxford 1933) by Sir Edmund Chambers and Charles Williams. This abridgement by Mr. Williams of Chambers' great *William Shakespeare* (2 volumes, Oxford, 1930) would be more accurately described by the subtitle of the original work, "A Study of Facts and Problems." Admirably judicial and extraordinarily comprehensive in its view of the subjects treated, it gives a most detailed and yet compact summary of facts and opinions concerning the early life of Shakspere, the Elizabethan dramatic companies and Shakspere's association with them, and the problems connected with the chronology of the plays, the printing of Elizabethan plays, and the determination of authorship, or "authenticity." It omits by unfortunate necessity certain portions of the original work, particularly the discussion of individual dramas, bibliographies, and the invaluable transcripts of original documents.

More inclusive in its topics but for the most part much less complete in detail and less impartial is *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies* (Cambridge, 1934), edited by Harley Granville-Barker and Dr. G. B. Harrison. Consisting of a series of fourteen essays by English scholars, it is something like *Shakespeare's England* (2 volumes, Oxford, 1916) shortened, simplified, popularized, and brought up to date. A few of the essays are superficial, one or two present views to which large exceptions will be taken, and only one or two call for special commendation, but on the whole the student and the general reader will find here a luminous presentation of today's version of the subjects usually dealt with in the handbooks. To a few of the essays specific reference will be made below.

One other collection of essays, more distinguished in style than this last but more special, must be mentioned, *Aspects of Shakespeare* (Oxford, 1933). These are the nine annual Shake-

[1] With slight exceptions, comment in this article is restricted to books only, and to those books published between January 1933 and August 1934.

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speare Lectures given before the British Academy in the years 1923–31. The lecturers include Messrs. Pollard, Chambers, Granville-Barker, Legouis, Thorndike, Greg, Dover Wilson, and Abercrombie, and Miss Spurgeon; three lectures deal with problems of text and canon, most of the rest with basic assumptions in the criticism of Shakspere's art.

During these last months no new facts concerning the life of Shakspere have been discovered and no important structures of inference have been erected upon data already in hand. Nevertheless biographical conjectures from the various schools of thought have continued. Some seek in Shakspere's works the mirror of his times, some the mirror of his soul; others by the same methods seek to disclose behind the mask of Shakspere the face of Francis Bacon, of Edward de Vere (17th Earl of Oxford), or of some one still more unexpected. Readers of the Correspondence columns of the (London) *Times Literary Supplement* were diverted for several months—till the editor ended the fun—by the cold radiance, week after week, of the "mortal moon" ("The mortal moon hath her eclipse endured"—Sonnet 107) in letters, mostly deadly serious, debating the meaning of the supposed allusion. Mr. J. A. Fort (author of *The Two Dated Sonnets of Shakespeare*, 1924, and *A Time Scheme for Shakespeare's Sonnets*, 1929), Dr. G. B. Harrison, and other Southamptonists have defended the interpretation "Queen Elizabeth has survived her grand climacteric [1596]"; Sir Edmund Chambers attacked it briefly but was silenced by the broadside in reply; George Frisbee, Percy Allen, and Captain B. M. Ward, who catch the minnow of topical allusion each in his own sieve of preconception, have harassed the Southamptonists with potshots from San Francisco, Oxford, and Welwyn Garden City, Herts. An Oxfordian, Mrs. Eva Turner Clarke, in *The Satirical Comedy "Love's Labour's Lost"* (Payson, 1933) finds in the play constant references to political events of the year 1578 and the particular activities of the Earl of Oxford; Rear-Admiral H. H. Holland in *Shakespeare, Oxford, and Elizabethan Times*

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(Archer, 1933) separates the Oxford plays (Edward de Vere's) from the Stratford plays ("Shakspere's") on the basis of the prevalence or absence in them of identifiable allusions.

More serious notice should be taken of the work of Dr. G. B. Harrison. Not infected with Baconian or Oxfordian heresy, and more cautious and reasonable than Professor J. Dover Wilson, who has derived from Shakspere's plays a fantastic spiritual biography of their author (*The Essential Shakespeare*, Cambridge, 1932), Dr. Harrison believes that the plays are constantly colored by passing events and that "to comprehend what Shakespeare wrote, his plays must be seen against the national background, which can only be built up by a close study of those events, great and small, which were likely to have excited the minds of the first spectators of a new play." This belief inspired him to compose his *Elizabethan Journal* (3 volumes, 1928, 1931, 1933), "a day by day account of the things most discussed" between 1591 and 1603, which he set down in simple, somewhat archaic language, in imitation of an actual daily record of events. The *Journal* makes interesting reading and is of considerable value for all those (the vast majority) who cannot go to the original documents. But the reader needs to remember that it has the disadvantage as well as the advantage of being a selection. The choice of items is influenced by the author's point of view, they are to some extent fictionized in form, and now and then guesses appear in the guise of fact (though the notes at the end of the book are usually punctilious in designating the conjectures). The same ground is traversed less vividly but more coherently in his chapter, "The National Background," in *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, in which he makes some illustrative applications of his theory to the plays. He is careful to observe that although such speeches as he cites from the plays "bore a special significance for the first hearers, they are not 'topical allusions'; for it was rather Shakespeare's method to see old stories in the light of modern instance than to season his plays with passing references." Finally, in *Shakespeare at Work* (Routledge, 1934; published in America under the title *Shake-*

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speare under Elizabeth, Holt, 1934) Dr. Harrison puts together the historical narrative of the *Journal* and the personal and professional story of Shakspere up to 1603 in what seems to him the significant relationship. As a demonstration of his thesis, it must be confessed, this is a disappointing book, frequently disconnected, perplexing both in its inclusions and in its omissions, and with many assumptions which will be widely challenged.

Of considerable importance to the literary historian, and of some interest to the general reader if he enjoys the weighing of evidence, is Dr. Samuel A. Tannenbaum's *Shaksperian Scraps and other Elizabethan Fragments* (Columbia, 1933), the principal essays in which are concerned with certain Elizabethan documents suspected of being modern forgeries. Chief of these are the entries (in 1610–11) in the diary of Dr. Simon Forman, the astrologer, purporting to record performances of *Macbeth*, *Cymbeline*, and *The Winter's Tale*, the importance of the entries being that no earlier references to these plays exist. Dr. Tannenbaum argues fully on general grounds and also on the basis of a "bibliotic" study of the handwriting of the entries, that they were in fact from the pen of the 19th Century scholar and forger, Dr. J. Payne Collier.

One of the liveliest subjects of controversy in the last decade has been the Shakspere canon. Two of the Academy lectures in *Aspects of Shakespeare* deal with the problem, both defending the traditional canon of the plays: Sir Edmund Chambers' "The Disintegration of Shakespeare" (1924) and Lascelles Abercrombie's "A Plea for the Liberty of Interpreting" (1930). Mr. J. M. Robertson, the disintegrator-in-chief, who had been purging the text from alien matter since 1905 and who had a last fling at the conservative professors in his *State of Shakespeare Study* (1931), died in January, 1933. Robertson's views are set forth sympathetically by Augustus Ralli in his voluminous and disappointing *History of Shakspeare Criticism* (2 volumes, Oxford, 1932), and his methods are followed by a small group of students of the drama; but the result of his vigorous and pro-

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longed attack is certain to be a strengthening of the conservative position, as various special articles already published disclose. Such studies as Miss Spurgeon's "Shakespeare's Iterative Imagery," the Academy lecture for 1931 (*Aspects of Shakespeare*), indicate one of the lines along which the reply of scholarship to the mechanical and arbitrary methods of the disintegrators will be developed.

The year 1933 saw the completion, in the *New Cambridge Shakespeare*, of the editing of the Comedies (except *Pericles*), fourteen volumes having been issued since 1921 under the joint editorship of Sir Arthur Quiller-Couch and Professor J. Dover Wilson. The younger editor, who from the beginning has borne the whole burden of preparing text and commentary, will carry on the editing of the Tragedies and the Histories alone. This edition contains invaluable textual readings and notes, for Dover Wilson is one of the most acute students of Elizabethan texts and observes the modern so-called "bibliographical" principles of textual criticism. The *New Cambridge* is not, however, as has been claimed, the first edition with a modern scientific text; that title belongs to Neilson's "Cambridge Poets" edition of 1906, which anticipated the enunciation of "bibliographical" principles by Pollard, Greg, and Wilson, and avoided the eccentricities and the rash assumptions which make the *New Cambridge Shakespeare* so unsatisfactory. The reader who wishes to learn more about the "new science" of textual criticism will find much of interest in two of the Academy lectures (in *Aspects of Shakespeare*): Pollard's "The Foundations of Shakespeare's Text" (1923) and Greg's "Principles of Emendation in Shakespeare" (1928). He will find in Tannenbaum's "Some Emendations of Shakspere's Text" (*Shaksperian Scraps*) a technique of emendation carefully "based upon the assumption that most of the errors in Shakspere's text had their origin in certain peculiarities of the 'secretary' script in which the plays were written." Two other important editorial projects, it may be added, are announced: the completion of the Furness *Variorum* edition of the

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plays, by a group of American scholars, and the preparation of a *New Oxford Variorum* edition under the editorship of Dr. R. B. McKerrow.

All these classes of studies are theoretically preparatory to literary criticism, for which at any rate they provide a necessary background and base; and actually the character of Shakspere criticism has been and is being profoundly modified by the scientific attack on special problems. Isaacs' chapters in *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies* give a convenient rapid survey of what has been going on during the last century and of the critical cross currents of today. An important document of the "new realism" (contrasted by the "realists" with the "romantic" or "philosophical" criticism which has set the fashion from Coleridge to Bradley) is Professor Edgar E. Stoll's *Art and Artifice in Shakespeare* (Cambridge, 1934). In this relatively small volume the author has attempted a "synthesis" of the opinions with which during the past two decades he has challenged traditional criticism. The closeknit texture of the thought, the over-elaboration, and the weight and intricacy of the style make slow reading, but the reader will find here the best statement of the "realistic" position.

The substance of Stoll's realism is this. Since Maurice Morgann's essay on Falstaff, Shakspere criticism has embraced one fallacy after another: disregarded the conditions of Elizabethan production; thought of plays not as dramas for the theater but as character studies for the library; treated characters as actual persons, not as fictions; sought to explain the preposterous inherited plots and the theatrical sleight-of-hand in situations and scene sequences by imposing subtleties of psychological analysis upon the characters. The art of Shakspere is dramatic, not psychological; bases effects upon conflict and contrast artificially contrived; as shortcuts to a theatrical effect makes use of many conventions of situation and of characterization which have no intrinsic signification; deals not in realities but in illusion; portrays characters separate from and superior to their deeds, by Shakspere's unique command of the poetic vehicle of emotion

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and his power of creating and maintaining mood and atmosphere. In short, contrary to 19th Century conviction, the play is the thing; characters are subordinate and contributory to the plot; and the plot is a tissue of absurdities cleverly contrived to create in the theater the illusion of poignant and significant experiences.

With elaborate dialectic Professor Stoll reinterprets *Othello* and *Hamlet* (and very summarily *Macbeth* and *Lear*) in accordance with these principles. The demonstration is too complete to be quite convincing. Much of the time the author is fighting battles long since won; there was a great deal of "realism" at Harvard (and elsewhere) twenty-five years ago. He appears at times to confuse two different meanings of "psychological"; he paints characters too white, for the sake of the desired contrast with their deeds; he finds characters "unpsychological" merely because of the dramatist's manipulation of plot conventions. Insisting on the propriety of plot postulates he seems to think the use of character postulates unpsychological. Yet it would seem true that if within the frame of the preliminary assumptions the acts of the characters are harmonious and coherent, that is all that "psychology" demands. And if the things done and said seem to have a rational relation to what the intimate character of the person is suggested to be, then the critical elaboration of this relationship (as in the essays of Bradley and other "romantic" critics) is not unscientific and unjustified. It is in fact highly justified, even though it be true that in the cockpit of the Globe theater few may have caught the underlying implications or connections; and, also, that the dramatist certainly at times felt without rationalizing, established connections and conveyed meanings intuitionally rather than by conscious design.

A more temperate and practicable "realism" is to be found in Mr. Granville-Barker's essays. He brings to the criticism of Shakspere an intimate knowledge of the theater, the sensitiveness of the artist, and the scholar's acquaintance with the Elizabethan age. His *Prefaces to Shakespeare* (3 series, 1927, 1930,

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1934) contain detailed studies, from his special point of view, of eleven of the plays. That point of view is admirably expressed in what is certainly the best essay in *A Companion to Shakespeare Studies*, his "Shakespeare's Dramatic Art."

The one book about Shakspere published during these twenty months which deserves and will enjoy an independent life of its own has yet to be mentioned: Logan Pearsall Smith's *On Reading Shakespeare* (Constable, 1933). "I am not a Shakespeare scholar," he begins disarmingly; but he has taken pains to learn the worst by reading the books of the new realists as well as those of their conservative predecessors. He carries a good deal of learning lightly and only now and then betrays nervousness in the presence of authority. To Professor Stoll's portentousness he responds with a facetiousness equivalent to an indelicate Elizabethan sign. Admitting at the start everything that is alleged against Shakspere, he ends by claiming for him every excellence that idolatry demands. The thoughtfulness and the sensitiveness, the easy grace and wit, make *On Reading Shakespeare* a really notable achievement in critical common sense.

If one wishes to see for himself what some of these books about Shakspere amount to, where should he begin? It is difficult to say, for each of them will mean most if it is read last in the list. But the suggestion may be ventured that a good beginning will be with the brightest, most readable, and perhaps the wisest of the lot, Pearsall Smith's *On Reading Shakespeare*. Then the compendiums, *Aspects of Shakespeare* and *A Companion;* then the special treatises. Then Stoll, the hardest and the most important of all, even if he be the apostle of only a half truth. One may well conclude by having another look at L.P.S. After which, one will be ready either to say goodbye to Shakspere forever, or to read him through, from *Love's Labour's Lost* to *The Tempest*, with a Scriptural devotion.

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In the Realm of Scholarship

The School's Social Responsibility

Report of the Commission on the Social Studies in the Schools

A. C. KREY
Member of the Commission

WHAT can the schools do to prepare present-day youth more adequately for the society in which they will participate responsibly when they leave school?[1]

When do pupils participate responsibly in society? According to advocates of the "child centered" school, children are responsible members of society almost from birth. It is paradoxical that the so-called psychological doctrine of nonrepression should gain popular vogue at the very time when society itself was becoming more closely integrated and more completely circumambient in its restraints than ever before in history. Another date which might be chosen is the legal age of maturity. In former days this date coincided more or less closely with the beginning of economic responsibility. Now, however, the period of infancy, or at least the period of economic dependence, extends for many present-day youths well into the twenties. The period of complete responsibility probably does not occur until the forties when men and women begin to hold the directing and responsible positions in industry, government, and society. A more accurate view would be to recognize a gradual growth of responsibility from very little in the earlier years to the more nearly complete responsibility of the forties. This was the view adopted by the Commission.

Moreover, can the nature of society thirty years hence be predicted? The Commission's answer is suggested in the following excerpt from its report:

> If historical knowledge is any guide, these tensions (previously enumerated) accompanied by oscillations in popular opinion, public policy, and the fortunes of struggle for power will continue until some approximate adjustment is made between social thought, social practice, and economic realities, or until society, exhausted by the conflict and at the end of its spiritual and inventive resources, sinks back into a more primi-

[1] This was the question the school world put to the Commission of sixteen social and educational scientists working from 1929 to 1934 under the auspices of the American Historical Association. Nearly half of that number spent the preceding three years preparing the plan for the attack upon that question, and the whole number devoted five more years to an effort to find the answer. The findings of this Commission have been published under the title, *Conclusions and Recommendations: Report of the Commission on the Social Studies.*

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tive order of economy and life. Such is the long-run view of social development in general and of American life in particular, which must form the background for any educational program designed to prepare either children or adults for their coming trials, opportunities, and responsibilities.

Foregoing positive prediction, the Commission contented itself with an estimate of probabilities based upon a comprehensive view of present society. For this task the Commission was peculiarly well equipped. Its membership included distinguished scholars in all the major fields of social science. During the period of its work upon the problem there became accessible the reports of the various commissions engaged in fact-finding studies of the economic, political, and social activities of present-day society. These were supplemented by the United States Census of 1930. Together these reports afforded a more complete inventory of contemporary society than had ever been available in our country.

The Commission was thus able from the outset and throughout its investigation to take a broad view of its work. The purely technical or professional study of the teaching of the social sciences in the schools could only be part of its inquiry. Nor could it confine its operations to a correspondingly narrow examination of public education. On the contrary, it directed its attention not only to problems of a pedagogical nature but also to the most profound considerations of the history and policy of the nation in its world setting, to the relation of school and society, to the conflicts and tensions in economy and social relations, to the meaning, purposes, and potentialities of American life.

The aims, objectives, and purposes of instruction in the social studies are set forth in the two documents with which the Commission begins and ends the complete set of its reports. The first, *A Charter for the Social Sciences in the Schools*, is signed by the whole Commission; the second, *Conclusions and Recommendations*, is signed by twelve of the sixteen members. These volumes treat in detail the subject matter of social science, curricula, methods of instruction, the teacher, the relation of school administration to subject and teacher, and the relation of teacher to school and society. The intervening volumes of the report deal with particular phases of school instruction in this field and are by individual authors especially qualified for their respective tasks.

The Commission has attempted to reexamine the traditions of our American society. It has recognized the closer interrelationships of local with national, and even international affairs, as these were reported by the several investigations, especially by the Commission on Social Trends. Nevertheless, as both its *Charter* and its volume of *Conclusions* reveal, the

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Commission, after its survey of all pertinent evidence, believes that all necessary adjustments to the conditions which have developed and are developing can be made without the sacrifice of any of the finest traditions of American life and history. It likewise believes that all necessary adjustments can be made by our society without resort to the extreme measures other peoples of the world have taken.

The present-day society which all this information reveals is definitely one in which nearly all activities are highly integrated. That Broadway and Hollywood are now less than twenty-four hours distant from each other is startling enough. That Hollywood is also of concern to religion as well as art, to ethics as well as esthetics, to politics as well as commerce, to international affairs as well as to the county authorities has dawned upon many. It is, however, not so generally recognized that fashion in clothes affects the prosperity of the textile industry, fashion in figures affects the milling and wheat-growing industries, fashion in locomotion affects agriculture as well as existing transportation systems, and that all of these together affect agriculture throughout the country, industry in all parts of the nation, and the operations of finance and politics throughout the world. The citizen has discovered that to be most effective his means of exercising some degree of control or regulation over these matters must be centered at Washington. The lines of relationship are not only world-wide in their vertical arrangement within each activity, but they radiate horizontally as well, having dynamic contact with all other organized activities of any importance. Society has become so wide and yet so intimate, so intricate that expert knowledge is necessary in dealing with any of its problems. The use of men of learning in the affairs of government, formerly confined to purely technical matters, has been expanded to include practically all activities of government. President Hoover tried to express this phenomenon of close social integration in the phrase "associational living." Others have applied to it the borrowed phrase "collectivism." Neither phrase, however, exactly expresses the idea, at least not as it has developed in this country.

Within this condition of close integration national planning has been developed, first under the leadership of industrial institutes and more recently under governmental administration also. People have begun to wonder what may become of individual enterprise, inventiveness, and drive. The Commission found no occasion for alarm. Individual ability, inventiveness, and enterprise have not less, but greater, opportunity. In the old accustomed fields of material activity the individual must act in terms of group action, must persuade as well as perform, must

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be reconciled to share his rewards with others, whether he operate under the auspices of highly organized industry or under governmental agencies. Granted these qualifications, however, the field before him is as wide as ever and the able individual will be eagerly welcomed. Those whose urge lies in the direction of power, whether in industry or in government, will find a larger field than ever before; and the same is true of opportunities in the realm of the more purely social, also, of the esthetic and the ethical, of education, and of science. And for the individual who prefers to commune with his own thoughts the situation offers greater opportunity than ever in the past, thanks to the greater freedom which both technological advance and industrial organization give him. The Commission has, in fact, recognized the cultivation of many-sided individualism as the greatest boon which the total situation permits:

> All instruction in the schoolroom must turn on the individual pupil: its results must inhere in the individual even though some idealized scheme of social arrangements may be the controlling motive in the organization and imparting of learning. If society were static and all were content with whatever happens to be, then it would be possible for the schools to do effective work in preparing typical personalities for typical grooves in a fixed order. But society is changing, not static, and such a conception of education would subdue all hopes, all aspirations, without which mankind will perish, to a lock-step routine soon to be possessed by the rigor of death. . . .
>
> In modern civilization, life is and must be a series of more or less difficult choices made by individuals alone or in groups, involving conduct, creative activity, loyalties and obligations. No scheme of education can foresee all the important choices of the coming years and provide mechanically correct reactions for each situation in which a decision must be made. . . .
>
> Our fundamental purpose here is the creation of rich, many-sided personalities, equipped with practical knowledge and inspired by ideals so that they can make their way and fulfil their mission in a changing society which is a part of a world complex.

It is perhaps only natural that widespread discussion and criticism have followed the publication of a report in which a group of scholars, after years of deliberation, deal directly and vigorously with fundamental questions. Thus far most of the criticism has been directed toward four main points: (1) the outline of the social scheme as it is, or the "frame of reference," (2) the new-type test, (3) methods of instruction, and (4) the course of study.

The "frame of reference" has received much more attention than the intention or expectation of the Commission anticipated, for it was primarily introductory to the sections which followed. Oddly enough, this section has received major attention from several crit-

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ics whose primary interest is in education. Professor Bobbitt saw in it a veiled attempt to indoctrinate for either fascism or communism, he was not certain which, and felt that the Commission ought to indicate which it preferred. Another critic saw in the "frame of reference" an undue indoctrination of the teacher, the limitation of the teacher to a definite point of view. His point was somewhat weakened when he went on to criticize the Commission further for failing to provide the teacher with a detailed course of study for each grade level. Just how the teacher would have been given greater freedom by such procedure was not made clear. Professor Bode has criticized the Commission for its acceptance of democracy as the ideal form of government and its effort to indoctrinate youth with that same ideal, thus preventing "the average man from making his own choice of government."

The point involved in all of these criticisms may be considered by a brief discussion of Professor Bode's attack. Would he urge the same freedom with reference to the English language, the system of arithmetic? Is it not just as conceivable that "the average man" would be as well qualified to select his own language, his own system of arithmetic as he is to select his own system of society? Doubtless there are other systems of language and of arithmetic, some already devised, others capable of invention. Why inflict either our language or our system of arithmetic upon the youth of the land? There are certainly times when both teacher and pupil would willingly give up the effort. But the benefits to be derived by the individual from membership in society seem always to have outweighed the reluctance of the pupil or the weariness of the teacher. If a common language and a common system of arithmetic are desirable, is not a common understanding of our contemporary complex social life even more important? The "frame of reference" was included in the report in order to give the pupil as nearly accurate a description of our society today as it was possible for us to draw up.

The outline of society which the "frame of reference" presents doubtless surprises many adults. Perhaps to some it seems a rash venture into the field of prophecy, especially to those whose working picture of society antedates the closing of the frontier. Others may even see in it an effort to foist upon the public some wishful scheme of society. The intention of the Commission, however, was only to describe as clearly as possible changes which had already occurred in our social structure. Social change is going on always; awareness of the change lags far behind. This phenomenon of social lag has been recognized by sociology for some time and was characterized by Ogburn in his discussion of social trends as

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the most potent source of social friction today. That the Commission could have come as close as it did to a description of our whole society today was due largely to two factors. The first was the membership of the Commission itself which brought together scholars working in nearly every important field of social science and therefore familiar with recent developments on nearly every side of the question. As important, if not even more important, was the fact that while the Commission was doing its work it was provided with a wealth of data about the contemporary scene such as has seldom, if ever, been available. There were some differences of opinion about details among various members of the Commission and some differences also as to the choice of words in certain cases but none as to the essential correctness of the "frame of reference" as a description of current society.

Some members of the Commission have been equally surprised at the amount of attention the section on the new-type tests has received. They were prepared for a sharp division of opinion, for that had appeared in the deliberations of the Commission itself. Dr. Ballou, in stating the reasons for his refusal to sign the final report of the Commission,[1] expressed the opinion that this chapter in the report was at variance with the Commission's own work on tests.[2] Professor Horn, who also refused to sign the final report of the Commission, has just published a substitute for the chapter on tests in the report.[3] Since these statements are now all published the interested reader will be able to reach his own judgment on the matter. Despite the general impression of sweeping condemnation which this chapter of the report is almost certain to leave with the reader, the Commission did recognize distinct services the so-called measurement movement has already rendered, and the possibility of further services. Few recent developments in education, however, have been so much abused. Hundreds if not literally thousands of persons without any competence have constructed tests which have been foisted upon an ill-protected society. Extravagant claims have been made even for tests which did have merit within a very small area of measurement. Results of tests good and bad have been used to justify policies definitely inimical to social and individual welfare. The general public, unable to discriminate between good and bad tests or to understand the limits within which the results of the relatively few good tests actually operated, was grossly misled. The leading scholars in the field of measurement today are not inclined to make undue and preposterous claims for their

[1] *School and Society.*

[2] Kelley and Krey, *Tests and Measurements in the Social Sciences.*

[3] *School and Society.*

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work. The Commission was aware of all this. It had to choose between emphasis upon the good work which these genuine scholars in measurement were performing, or emphasis upon the misconceptions and abuses of the measurement movement still so widespread. This was a choice of policy and it chose the latter alternative as the most conducive to the public good, feeling that in the long run true scholars in measurement would themselves be aided by this choice of the Commission.

The third point, the discussion of method, involved a somewhat similar choice of policy. The Commission did not fail to appreciate the good work which has been and is being done to improve methods of teaching. Our educational organization is so large and so well established over the whole country that there is little danger that the good work it is doing can be at all hampered by having vigorous attention called to the excesses and abuses which have grown up in connection with it. The criticisms of the faults in methodology were made by the educational scientists on the Commission, by some who did not sign the final report as well as by those who did. I want to correct any impression that the criticism in this section reflects the traditional enmity between academic and educational faculties. Likewise the criticism of faults in social science scholarship was contributed by the social scientists. The magnitude of the problem before the Commission was early recognized as so great that it would require the most cordial cooperation of both groups of scholars for its solution, and it was hoped that the report might be instrumental in bringing about equally cordial cooperation between these faculties throughout the country.

The fourth point relates to the curriculum. There has been severe criticism of our refusal to present a detailed course of study. Whether or not to draw up such a course was a question before the Commission from its first to its last meeting. The Commission began its work with a nearly unanimous opinion that such a detailed course of study should be drawn up—in fact, at that time there were not more than two members strongly opposed to this course. The opinion shifted gradually, however, until finally probably not more than two members were still in favor of such a conclusion. It will doubtless surprise the critics of the "frame of reference" to learn that it was precisely to avoid rigid indoctrination and mechanical instruction that the Commission refused to shackle teachers and pupils with a detailed course of study. The Commission did outline a fairly comprehensive list of topics of which the pupils should have become aware by the end of the public school course. This list was already in type when the report was drawn up and was therefore covered in the final re-

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port by reference to the antecedent volume containing the material.[4] The Commission likewise laid down certain principles governing the development of work through the several grades. It preferred to leave the actual construction of the curriculum to local initiative as the best means of insuring a real adjustment of the general program to local conditions. It was hoped that a vital quality of instruction would follow upon an immediate sense of responsibility by the local teachers and school authorities. Experienced teachers and thoughtful school administrators in all parts of the country have expressed widespread approval of this action.

The four major criticisms which have thus far appeared were also raised at various times during the deliberations of the Commission, most of them being discussed at length. This fact encourages the hope that critics, in considering further the issues involved, may finally come to agree with the conclusions of the majority of the Commission.

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William Benjamin Smith

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THOSE who have read in the last August number of *Scripta Mathematica* the article on *William Benjamin Smith*—mathematician, physicist, poet, philosopher, historian, critic, and teacher—are not without information regarding that truly great man, who died on August 6th, 1934, at Columbia, Missouri, at the age of eighty-four. Though long well-known in European centers of learning for his studies in the origins of Christianity, he was known and appreciated by only a few in this country.

By birth and early education Smith was a Kentuckian, though descended from earliest Virginian ancestry. From the University of Kentucky he received the degree of Master of Arts in 1871, and in 1879 the Doctorate of Philosophy (in mathematics and physics) from the University of Goettingen.

Noteworthy is the fact that in the course of his long academic service he successively represented with distinction three cardinal fields of learning: mathematics in Central College, Missouri; first physics and then mathematics in the State University of Missouri; first mathematics and finally philosophy in the Tulane University of Louisiana.

Yet far stronger tokens of Smith's versatility are found in his scientific and literary activity. Of two extensive contributions by him to the *Encyclopedia Americana* one deals with the "Differential and Integral Calculus" and the other with "The Status and Drift of New Testament Criticism."

[4] Beard, C. A., *The Nature of the Social Sciences*, Chaps. IX and X.

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Near the time of these writings he was sent as Delegate of the U. S. Government to the Pan-American Scientific Congress, Santiago, Chile, where he reported on physics, 1908. Such items render less incredible the fact that Smith could one day expound in mathematical terms the special and general theories of relativity to an assembly of mathematicians and physicists, and the next day enlighten an audience of philosophers regarding certain philosophic implications of the doctrine.

His major mathematical publications—*Coordinate Geometry*, *Infinitesimal Analysis*, and *Geometry of the Point, Ray, and Circle*—are specially notable, as were his class-room lectures also, for having those rare qualities that vindicate the claim of mathematics to a high rank in the hierarchy of the humanities. For in Smith's conception of it mathematics was infinitely more than an immense body of technicalities and logicalities. It was, for him, a way of thinking, discourse of reason, and, quite as genuinely as poetry or music, a finely characteristic manifestation and product of the higher spirit of man.

Karl Weierstrass, famous mathematician, memorable for his insistence on the virtue of logical rigor, once said "a man who is not somewhat of a poet will never be a perfect mathematician." Smith was a poet. Even if the fact were not subtly manifest in the austerest of his prose writings, no one could deny the title "poet" to the author of *The Merman and the Seraph*, a lyric crowned by the Poet Lore competition of 1906, or to the author of the *Iliad* translation, a line-for-line homometric version in English, to be published under the editorial supervision of Professor Walter Miller, of Columbia, Missouri.

Bare allusion to Smith's miscellaneous writings, including *The Color Line*, *The Life of James Sidney Rollins*, *Pater Universitatis Missouriensis*, and many magazine articles, must here suffice. For it is not upon these nor even upon his works as mathematician, physicist, and poet that his future fame will rest. I do not doubt that eventually the consensus of competent opinion will accord him a high place in the galaxy of the seminal minds of our time, but that estimate will base itself upon his work in philosophy and his researches in Proto-Christianity, for these embody the dominant intuitions of his life.

In philosophy his *magnum opus*, nearly completed but not yet published, is a large work setting forth his world-theory under the significant title *Mind, the Maker*. Its basic tenet is this: The physical world—the world of the actual—is only a vast system of signs or symbols, constantly made, unmade, and remade by activities in the psychic world—the world of reality; of the immense outer pageant called the material universe the

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maker is mind, and all the things that the pageant presents, as time, space, rocks, rainbows, animal and vegetal bodies, planets, stars, nebulae, have no significance or worth in themselves but only as signs or symbols of the corresponding psychic activities that produce them.

So far as published the results of his researches in Proto-Christianity are found partly in a score of memoirs but mainly in the two volumes: (1) *Der Vorchristliche Jesus* (The Prechristian Jesus), written in German and published at Jena, 1906; and (2) *Ecce Deus* (German edition 1911, English 1912). "As a historian of the remotest origins of Christianity," wrote S. Reinach in the *Revue archeologique*, "William Benjamin Smith seems to me as superior to all other radicals as Renan was superior to Dupuis and Voltaire." And he adds: "I have read *Ecce Deus* from cover to cover. It is an immortal work." That prince of British critics, T. K. Cheyne, illustrious editor of the *Encyclopedia Biblica*, wrote of (1), "It will take criticism ten years to judge it," and of (2), "Let us go on in the spirit of this grandly daring book . . . and so be pioneers religiously of a new and happier age."

Far larger, maturer, weightier, even more erudite than either (1) or (2) is the work entitled *Crucified, Transfigured, Enthroned: the Folk-mind of Israel as Matrix of Christianism*, which still awaits publication. It is hard to imagine anything more important or more revolutionary or more revealing. Its central thesis is: The Christ of the New Testament is the "Righteous Servant of Jehovah," the "Ebed YHVH" of Isaiah, the Hebrew Race, the People of God, the Genius of Jacob, the Israel-Folk, spiritualised, universalised, personalised, often called Son-of-Man or Son-of-God. A good clue to the grounds and manner of its defense may be found in Smith's essay—"Milk or Meat?"—in the *Hibbert Journal*, April, 1933.

Smith left many unpublished manuscripts. It is a tragedy that his life was not spared till he might have arranged for the publication of at least the major two: *Mind, the Maker;* and *Crucified, Transfigured, Enthroned.*

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Philip Hale

WALTER R. SPALDING

Emeritus Professor of Music, Harvard University

MUSICAL criticism is one of the most difficult of human activities. For the art to be criticized is so indefinite with its elusive factors of sound and rhythm, and there are no precise standards of judgment as in the case of the more concrete, imitative and definite arts —painting, sculpture, and poetry. The famous critics of music may be reckoned almost on the fingers of one hand, except for a few pioneers

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—Rameau, Berlioz, Schumann, Mendelssohn, Saint-Saëns, d'Indy, and Wagner. The last, to be sure, wrote much nonsense, but when he did hit the nail on the head, it sank in. In our own country we have had Dwight, Apthorp, Parker, Krehbiel, Finck, Aldrich, Henderson, Deems Taylor, Downes, and Gilman. To this group Philip Hale inevitably and irrefutably belonged.

A critic has two responsibilities: first, to help the public to receive more readily the message of the composer; secondly, to call attention to merits or blemishes in the performance of any composition. For such work the qualifications are also two-fold. The critic must have an innate love of music, be trained in the technique of the art, and, also, he must be able to write clearly and convincingly. For music is such a mysterious and baffling subject that concerning it wild and whirling words are futile. So many critics fall between two stools; they know something about music but cannot write anything particularly readable, or they can write well but know little or nothing about music. Philip Hale, on the contrary, was by nature a gifted musician; he had had a comprehensive artistic training and whatever he wrote was so fairly and convincingly expressed that everyone found pleasure and edification in reading it.

Emphasis should be laid, furthermore, upon the fact that Philip Hale, in addition to being a gifted and highly trained musician, was a man of broad scholarship and cultivation from an academic point of view. He graduated from Yale University in 1876, afterwards studied law and was admitted to the Bar at Albany. His unusual qualifications were recognized just before his death when Harvard University in 1933 conferred upon him the honorary degree of Doctor of Laws, the first case in which a critic of music had received such a high honor.

How soon the workings of Providence may send us another critic his equal no one can tell. He has left, however, the highest standards and ideals of insight and workmanship which, it may be hoped, his successors will keep steadily before them.

. . .

Seminars in Underworked Fields

MORTIMER GRAVES

Assistant Secretary, American Council of Learned Societies

PRELIMINARY notice is given of opportunities to be offered during the summer of 1935 to mature scholars for expanding their interests and competence in fields generally underworked by Ameri-

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cans. A series of seminars will be held, similar to the Summer Seminars on Far Eastern Studies at Harvard and the University of California in 1932 and 1934, designed not as ordinary summer-school courses but specifically for providing mature teachers in universities and colleges with information and techniques not readily obtainable at any other time.

The *Section on Chinese and Japanese Studies* will be part of the Summer Session at Columbia University from July 5 to August 16, 1935. L. C. Goodrich will direct the section and will teach the Chinese language. Arthur W. Hummel, Division of Orientalia, Library of Congress, will teach Chinese history; Carl W. Bishop, of the Freer Gallery, the pre-history of Asia; Ryusaku Tsunoda, of the Society for Japanese Studies, the Japanese language; Shunzo Sakamaki, of Columbia University, the history of Japan; and H. G. Henderson, of Columbia University, Japanese art. Other eminent specialists will lecture on specific topics.

The second *Russian Language Institute* will also be held at Columbia University from June 25 to August 31. George Z. Patrick of the University of California, assisted by lectors, will be in charge of instruction. An elementary course will be planned to give a useful control of Russian materials to historians, political scientists, and other scholars to whom these materials are necessary. The advanced course will be intended for those already having some command of the Russian language. The experience of the first Institute at Harvard in 1934 indicates that extraordinary success can be expected from this kind of intensive study of a language, properly directed, on the part of mature scholars who realize the necessity of acquiring such a tool.

A Seminar on Arabic and Islamic Studies is being planned at Princeton University, to run approximately from June 20 to July 31. It will be offered, if funds can be secured, under the direction of Professor Philip K. Hitti of Princeton University and will be designed for medievalists, historians of science, the fine arts, and Eastern Europe, linguists, scholars of Romance languages, and others to whose interests the Arabic-Islamic field is peripheral and who find some competence in it desirable. Special work in the Arabic and Turkish languages will be available. Although this Seminar is not yet assured, its sponsors would like to hear from anyone who might be interested in it.

It is hoped that some financial assistance can be offered to a few qualified scholars who might otherwise be prevented from attending any of these seminars. Further information can be had from Mortimer Graves, American Council of Learned Societies, 907 Fifteenth Street, N. W., Washington, D. C.

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Continuing Education in Medicine

Michigan's Postgraduate Program

JAMES D. BRUCE, M.D.
Vice-President in Charge of University Relations, University of Michigan

I BELIEVE that we have made a great advance toward the problem of the continued education of doctors in agreeing that neither the science nor the art of medicine can be fully achieved in the undergraduate program of study. Undergraduate training and experience gradually crystallize in practise into a more or less satisfactory working knowledge, but if a fully acceptable quality of practise is to be maintained the practitioner must from time to time have access to the newer standardized methods of diagnosis and treatment.

In his address on "The Educational Value of Medical Societies" Sir William Osler says:

> There are many problems and difficulties in the education of the medical student but they are not more difficult than the question of the continuous education of the general practitioner —over the one we have some control, over the other none. The specialist may be trusted to take care of himself. The conditions of his existence demand that he be abreast of the times; but the family doctor, the essential factor in the battle, should be carefully nurtured by our schools and carefully guarded by the public.

It has been estimated that about 85 per cent of all illness may be satisfactorily cared for by the well-trained family doctor. Therefore it becomes of prime importance that he be able to render a quality of service which approximates the medical knowledge of the period. The successful practise of medicine requires not only the ability to relieve and cure but the responsibility for the prevention of disease.

It has been noted that a practitioner of average training may continue five years without contact with a medical center and still acquire the newer methods when opportunity offers. After ten years a longer period will be necessary and greater difficulties experienced. After fifteen years the doctor will find it almost impossible to get in step with the practises of the day. Moreover, the advances in medicine during the last thirty years are specific enough to permit their division into periods of five years each, the lack of knowledge and techniques developed in any of these periods rendering a practitioner to that degree definitely less able to give an adequate quality of service. It would seem necessary, therefore, that a practitioner make provision for acquainting himself with medical progress at least once in each five-year period.

The Department of Postgraduate Medicine was established at the

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University of Michigan at the request of the organized medical groups of the State. The term "postgraduate," as used throughout this discussion, implies a program of study designed to maintain the medical practitioner at a certain standard of fitness for service during his professional years. The term "graduate study" refers to those longer university courses designed to prepare for teaching, research, or practise in a specialty and which ordinarily are pursued as part of the requirements for a degree. The postgraduate program, while not designed to train specialists, does contemplate a provision of the educational opportunities necessary to maintain the specialist at a desirable level of efficiency.

Our study reviewing, by means of a very comprehensive questionnaire, the postgraduate opportunities and experiences of several hundred physicians in the State, confirmed the finding of the Commission on Medical Education that less than 5 per cent of the practising profession avail themselves of postgraduate study in any one year. The principal reasons given by the doctors for failure to attend the various courses offered were inaccessibility, cost, reluctance to leave practise for the length of time involved in the average course, lack of appeal of the programs and, not infrequently, indifference. A program eliminating these objections as far as possible was therefore inaugurated along the following lines:

1. Through repeated discussions the officials of the Michigan State Medical Society succeeded in transforming the need for postgraduate training into a demand.

2. The personnel and equipment of the Medical Department of Wayne University and the staffs and hospitals of the metropolitan area of the City of Detroit were enlisted with the resources of the University Medical School and Hospital at Ann Arbor.

3. A teaching program was developed at suitable periods of the year, non-prohibitive in cost to the doctors attending, including the presentation of newer concepts and procedures in practise as well as stressing their relationship with the basic sciences.

The first teaching program took the form of the old-time four and six weeks' general practitioners' course, but one or two years' experience convinced us that in many ways this did not adequately meet the need. The doctor attended such a course only once or twice during his professional life, usually after long separation from undergraduate study, when he had lost to a great extent the art of notetaking and of concentration. The large number of subjects covered during the period and the incompleteness of many presentations did not lend themselves to effective teaching, and in building up most of the programs there was a noticeable amount of filler, or padding, not

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conducive to clarity and continuity. In addition, relatively few doctors were so able to arrange their work that they could be absent from practise from four to six weeks.

We next divided the field of general practise into eight sections, allowing a week to each section and presenting them in sequence in order that a practitioner might take one or more in any one year. The increasing interest in the program and the splendid cooperation on the part of the teaching staff and hospitals were encouraging, and the attendance increased from 47 in the beginning to over 300 in the fifth year.

But we were still not reaching a higher percentage of our profession than that shown by the findings of the Commission on Medical Education and were falling far short of our objective of having each physician in the State attend a well-rounded review course during each five-year period. Our efforts, like others along this line, while effective in making good doctors better, had done little toward raising the standards of the less adequately qualified whose numbers are very considerable and whose services are among those groups in our population representing the largest percentage of physical defects and unrecognized ailments—groups constituting eventually the major portion with which governmental and welfare agencies are concerned.

Our medical population in Michigan consists of approximately 5500 physicians, about 3500 of whom are not intimately connected with teaching institutions or hospitals. To provide a program which would more effectively reach every doctor in the State at least once every five years it was necessary to plan for a schedule of teaching which would be suitable in length, content, and cost, and accessible, to at least 800 doctors each year. Therefore in four different districts of the State a new teaching center was established in a city having well-equipped hospitals. The program for these new centers consisted of one day's teaching a week for eleven weeks, each day being devoted to a single subject in the field of general practise. Four hours of the day were given over to clinical or didactic teaching and an hour to general discussion in which the attending physicians were encouraged to ask questions relating to their practise in the field under consideration. Local committees provided clinical material, laboratory facilities, and other necessities. The teaching personnel was made up of those who had engaged in the former programs—the faculties of the University of Michigan Medical School, the Wayne University College of Medicine, and distinguished clinicians interested in medical education. The hours were so arranged that except in two or three instances no one had to appear more

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than once on a program. The same subjects were given in each center but on different days so that an unavoidable absence of a registrant at one point might be made up by attendance at another center.

The attendance far exceeded our expectations. There was a total registration for the courses of 796, and expressions from those in attendance have been unanimous in their enthusiasm for the teaching plan, the subject matter, and the continuance of this type of program. The development of more centers was generally urged since many who attended had to come very considerable distances. An encouraging fact was the large number of doctors in attendance from the more isolated areas of the State. Many of those registered are practising in isolated communities out of reach of the two major medical teaching centers of the State and some had not attended a formal program of teaching since graduation—periods of from ten to forty years.

It is now planned to develop three new centers in the northern part of the State. When these are established we shall be able to offer to all our doctors this service within reasonable distances and at a negligible cost. Stimulating and informative as a well-conducted day on one subject may be, there will be a number of doctors who wish to know a particular subject more thoroughly. For these a continuance of the eight one-week resident programs is planned, a two-weeks' composite resident course and personal courses of varying lengths to meet individual needs.

In the continuing education of the family doctor the tendency of the teacher-clinicians and the interest of the student-practitioners turn naturally toward the clinical applications. Year by year the family doctor finds himself removed farther and farther from the science which underlies sound medical practise. In order to safeguard the proper balance between fundamental knowledge and practise the teaching must identify, briefly but positively, every new procedure with the underlying principles of its operation. Postgraduate medical instruction should be directed by those intimately in touch with the sources of knowledge in their respective fields; that is, the responsibility for the maintenance of continuing education in medicine should center in the undergraduate medical school where there are teachers trained to give this emphasis. As demand for postgraduate opportunities increases, personnel and equipment may be added from time to time, thereby not only providing for postgraduate needs without duplication but also strengthening the resources of the school for undergraduate requirements. This point might well be given careful consideration in any planning for continuing education in medicine.

In developing any program of

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postgraduate work for practitioners the ideal of making each community as nearly as possible a self-sufficient center of medical service must be kept in view. The intangible results of a postgraduate program of the character of the Michigan State plan are not inconsiderable. There has been a decided improvement in the morale of the medical profession of the State and evidence of a cooperative, helpful attitude of one physician to another stimulated by the classroom contacts. In addition there has developed a teaching talent in many well-informed practitioners and specialists which hitherto has not had opportunity to express itself. But possibly more important than all, the standards of social responsibility of the profession have gone forward, as well as those of medical practise, with the evidence of a renewed confidence on the part of the public.

. . .

Two Projects in Far Eastern Studies[1]

THE *Training Center for Far Eastern Studies in the Library of Congress* is the result of an effort to combine the advanced training of a small number of qualified younger scholars with the provision of an implement of study valuable not only to sinologists but to scholars and others not specialists in the Far East. It commenced formal operations at the Library of Congress on September 1 under the direction of Dr. Arthur W. Hummel. At present the Center is engaged in the preparation of biographies looking toward *Contributions to a Biographical Dictionary of the Ch'ing Dynasty*. After consultation with many scholars, a list of seventeenth century biographies to be produced has been reduced to about five hundred. Of these more than 100 have now been written.

The long-postponed experimental enterprise in translating a selected section of the *Dynastic Histories of China* was finally begun last September at the Library of Congress. The section chosen is the *Ch'ien Han Shu* and the work is under the direction of Dr. Homer H. Dubs. Excellent progress has been made in assembling and consulting Chinese, Japanese, and other commentaries, in evaluating the overlapping work of Chavannes in his *Mémoires historiques de Sse-ma Ts'ien*, and in the actual work of translation. The translation of the first chapter yielded sixty-five typewritten pages of text and eighty-seven pages of notes which it is hoped can be tentatively published for criticism at an early date.

[1] This information is taken from the Report of Activities, 1934, Committees on Far Eastern Studies, American Council of Learned Societies.

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Discussion

Examining the Roots of American Humor

CONSTANCE ROURKE

THE study of literature still suffers from the aristocratic bias which formerly limited the materials of history to the doings of kings and courts. That which engrosses textbook and classroom is mostly highbrow literature, the carefully wrought product which was written, and read, only by an educated minority of the population."

This statement appears in Mr. J. De Lancey Ferguson's article on "The Roots of American Humor" (THE AMERICAN SCHOLAR, Winter 1935). I should be obliged to go far to find an observation with which I am more heartily in accord. The complementary position as to the importance of popular evidences governs my approach in *American Humor,* and Mr. Ferguson has also been concerned with popular expression. It is therefore with surprise that I find him concluding that some of us who have considered American humor have disregarded well known popular British materials. It may be assumed, I think, that we have read the *Mabinogion.* The sources of British popular humor to which he briefly alludes, Ray, Grose, and Dougal Graham, are not the exclusive possession of any student. And surely such a generalization as the following is unwarranted: "Investigators of our humor, if they have sought its origins in Great Britain, have read the literature which gets into the histories. Finding no humor of exaggeration there, they have concluded that it did not exist." Let me say that I for one have never searched for the origins of American humor in the formal literature of Great Britain, nor have I drawn such conclusions as to the humor of exaggeration.

There is one body of British popular expression with which Mr. Ferguson seems unfamiliar, though it is germane to his present argument, i.e., the popular reactions to American humor when this first appeared in force on the British stage, in the early eighteen thirties. If American and British humor are essentially the same we might expect a hearty acceptance of that fact from British audiences. The time for a test was auspicious, for Americans were then still close to the period when they were nominally Britons—close to the "roots." But the British were sombrely puzzled by our comedians. "The humors of our own Anglo-Saxon flesh and blood transported to America, and often lo-

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cated in wildernesses, are like nothing among the family which has remained at home," said a newspaper critic of the time whom I have quoted further in *American Humor*. Such summaries of the popular reaction may be found in William Jerdan's *Yankee Humor and Uncle Sam's Fun* (London, 1853), in *The Spirit of the Times* (New York, *seriatim*), in the considerable literature having to do with the adventures of our early comedians abroad, and in other literature of a popular character which I have cited. American humor was regarded as a novelty in Great Britain.

This is far from saying that English and American humor have had nothing in common. It must be clear that our forefathers brought an imaginative inheritance with them when they migrated to these shores, humor included. I develop nothing like the theory of parthenogenesis which Mr. Ferguson ascribes to me, or even the particular thesis that the Yankee Jonathan of the early American stage was "a parthenogenetic birth of American soil." I have, rather, stressed the mixed ancestry of the Yankee, indicated the natural comparisons with the Yorkshireman, accepted the frequently made suggestion that the early Jonathan was derived in part from the Yorkshireman of the British stage, and used a considerable number of references to Irish influences. Mr. Ferguson advances a theory of Gaelic origins controversially as if this were his own discovery, but I had already indicated the possible use of "Gaelic fragments" in the making of American legend and in another connection suggested that "fragments of Gaelic lore brought by the earlier pioneers may have strengthened a sense of natural magic." In my more recent *Davy Crockett* possible alliances between Gaelic myths and the large cycle of Crockett myths are referred to, as are obvious identities between certain of these stories and common general patterns in European folklore.

Some of Mr. Ferguson's difficulties become plain as his collection of "roots" is examined. In drawing upon the *Mabinogion* he is under a handicap since this body of literature has never been regarded as comical. "The further an American reads in the Celtic legends," he says, "the more familiar they seem." The implications of this statement are rather wide. He has drawn his illustrations from the *Mabinogion* from the single story of "Kilwch and Olwen." This is of course one of the great Celtic romances, and the labors of Kilwch are no more comical than the labors of Hercules. Mr. Ferguson might have mentioned Ychdryt Varydraws in this tale, who could thrust his stiff red beard across the forty-eight rafters of Arthur's hall; this perhaps was something of a trick whereas the feats of the heroes or giants he does mention represent

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only an excess of muscular, visual, vocal, or auditory power, or of natural heat. Exaggeration is not humor, and to the contemporary mind of the mabinogs such excesses were not even exaggeration. They were believed. These stories of heroes and demi-gods and ugly giants sprang from an earlier primitive body of myth and magic; and the continuance of belief even in a later period when the tales were set down for bardic use is attested by many internal evidences, among them the inclusion of genealogies. Mr. Ferguson asks, "What essential difference is there between Davy Crockett who could grin a coon to death at thirty yards and Kilwch who could shout with so deadly an effect that every pregnant woman within a hundred-mile radius would miscarry and all the rest would be so blighted as to become barren from that day forth?" There is the difference in the contemporary mind between belief and comic fantasy. Kilwch is not a comic hero, and the contrast illustrates a peculiar American bent. Many mythologies have been created in which men believed; the inflated fancy belongs to all myth. But where, except on our frontiers, have been invented mythologies which men disbelieved in and still riotously enjoyed, heaping invention upon invention? And this special form of mythology has sprung up not once or transiently among us but many times and in many places, having to do with Mike Fink, Crockett, Paul Bunyan, John Henry, and a host of minor figures.

In further argument Mr. Ferguson sets down twelve examples of comic similies, defies us to say which are English and which are American, and then discloses that only two of them belong to us. He obviously expects us to say that they are all American and it is very easy to give him this point. To my certain knowledge at least six of these similies are or have been common in this country, and the whole lot may have been known here. The English may have invented them all. The practise of culling from the English joke books was common among us in the early part of the last century and even later. The English *Joe Miller* was a prime source. But borrowing was gradually superseded among us by invention, a transition admirably illustrated by the passage from *Colonel Crockett's Tour to the North and Down East*, cited to the contrary in "The Roots of American Humor."

Mr. Ferguson discovers that "labber" is a North of England word. He has also found the English simile "As lazy as Ludlam's dog, that leaned his head against a wall to bark"—which may be called the bones of the joke. But out of these and even throwing in the rails and the tin-cart, I do not believe that Mr. Ferguson could have concocted the Crockett passage: "They're great for huntin' of foxes; and if you were to see

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their hounds! lean, lank, labber-sided pups, that are so poor they have to prop up agin a post-and-rail fence 'fore they can raise a bark at my tin-cart."

The passage is too brief to hang a whole interpretation on, but it illustrates that combination of highly concrete description with magnified overflow which has been characteristic of our humor. Mark Twain combined these gifts in superlative measure. No one could be more exact in matters of observation, as to scenes, individuals, dialect. No one could at one and the same time cut the strings of reality and soar into the comic empyrean. I think the same things may be said of the whole passage from which Mr. Ferguson has drawn the phrase about "a cow and a calf and a calico frock" which is, he believes, only a Bowdlerized version of the "Tipperary fortune." And I wish to add that none of this is to be construed as an assertion that American humor is superior to English humor. I consider the phrase about Ludlam's dog rather poor as humor, but I do not consider it as characteristically English.

Every point which Mr. Ferguson makes as to identities between American and British humor may be granted. The same patterns, as of exaggeration, may appear in each. An analogue for one of the Paul Bunyan stories appears in the *Spectator*. The same tale is told in Russia. But this is not to say that we had the story from Russia or England or from Sweden, or that the effect of humor in each is the same. Apart from the theory of independent origins, known to students of folklore, the main consideration appears elsewhere. When the individual uses common or traditional materials and does something indubitably his own with them, we call this genius. When the achievement is that of a people we are justified, I think, in using the same word with the implication of fresh creative energy which it carries.

Whatever the common base, something incontestibly our own has been expressed in that highly mixed aggregation which we call American humor. Twists have been given, strong colors added, and the whole patterned into contours often bearing small resemblance to the original base and not to be summed up by the simple word "exaggeration." The original base, when this can be discovered, has importance for careful study, but not a final importance. All literature, all folklore, uses common stuffs. Mr. Ferguson believes that the difference between American and English humor is a mere matter of changing labels. It is nothing so dull. The differences have to do with the creative fancy. Nowhere is this plainer than in relation to the physical scene, which he regards as a minor matter. He makes this point in connection with the English line about Ludlam's dog, but he has

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THE AUTHOR: Dr. Kotany took his doctor's degree in Science and Mathematics at the University of Vienna with unusual distinction. Coming to the United States, he became an American citizen and for years pursued a successful career in the field of finance. He was a life-time student of political economy and contributed sound, scholarly articles to *The Quarterly Journal of Economics* and other professional periodicals. He was for many years Treasurer of Washington University, St. Louis.

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failed to notice that in this line there is no scene. Our comic similes, our humor, have abounded in scenes. The wild scene with its white oaks, raccoons, possums, bears, sprawling rivers, and lush growth made a subject of which our early humorists never seemed to tire. Comically, poetically, yet exactly, they drew these subjects again and again, and this turn of absorption makes one of the fresh imaginative contours which our humor has followed.

There will not be space to consider Mr. Ferguson's argument as to certain lively English archaisms still used by Americans. The subject is large, and I believe that Mr. Ferguson's points have been ably met by others elsewhere. But the general query raises a final question. It would seem that one of Mr. Ferguson's difficulties has to do with language. He quotes a phrase of mine which includes the words "new birth," which I believe may rightly be used in relation to American humor. From this he makes a broad leap to a theory of "parthenogenesis," which he says is mine, and finally reaches the amazing statement that American humor is not "the fruit of some 'unrecorded overthrow of all the world has ever known or ever been.'" No one has said anything so absurd. I must assume that Mr. Ferguson knows the meaning of the word "parthenogenesis." I must assume that he has read *American Humor*. Perhaps in an interval it has been remade in his mind, with a touch added here and there, and a considerable amount subtracted. The process is well known. It belongs to folklore, but one does not expect to find it in serious criticism.

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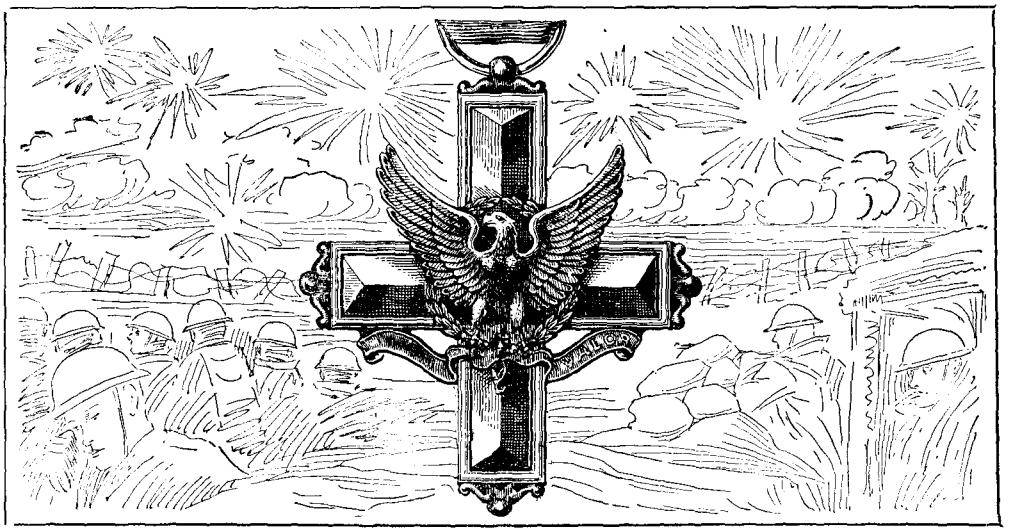

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